

THE

# Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE.

SOONER than we had expected, and far sooner than we had hoped, the Conservative party has taken up the gauge of battle on the question of Church and State. We are immensely relieved. Years ago, when the Anti-State Church Association commenced its work, its chief difficulty consisted in the fact that its opponents would take little or no notice of what it did or what its representatives said. It went on, however, patiently and steadily, with its work. It was found that there was quite enough to do to teach Dissenters themselves the duty of applying their own principles to the ecclesiastical legislation of their country. There was a *vis inertia* amongst the great body of Nonconformists, and an indisposition to action amongst the majority of their best recognised leaders, which were as painful to realise as they were difficult to overcome. The early Anti-State Churchmen set themselves, therefore, in great measure, to the work of arousing the consciences, the self-respect, and the manliness of their own brethren. Year after year, sometimes cheered, but oftener, in the first period of the agitation, sorely discouraged, those who had undertaken this task went on with it. Pleasant, but painful as pleasant, reminiscences crowd upon us as we recall the memory of those now comparatively remote days. Most of our friends who took part in that preliminary stage of warfare have now and for ever taken off their armour. But they fought a magnificent fight. They left behind them an armed and disciplined host. Partly in their own lifetime, and partly since they went to their reward, that host has won nearly all the outposts of the enemy. One after another, but never without a fierce and prolonged struggle, they have been captured. Now, it is judged, the time has come when the stronghold itself should be attacked. Alive to the danger, our opponents are, at first, gathering their local forces together. The battle has already begun, and there is no likelihood that either side will lay down its arms until the end has been accomplished.

We may pretty well judge from the events of the last week, what will be the character of the struggle through which we shall have to pass. It is admirably typified in the Exeter, Staleybridge, and Bradford proceedings. We see that,

at Exeter, a meeting of the Devonshire Church Association has been held, presided over by the Earl of Devon, who, in anticipation of the question being discussed very soon in the Legislature, asked the meeting whether they were prepared to give up the benefits which they had hitherto received from the connection of Church and State, and the maintenance of the endowments attached to the Church? The Earl went on, in a mill manner, to enlarge upon some points of the controversy, and he then expressed his conviction that if the Establishment should fall, the Church would certainly not fall. Other incidents, including Sir Stafford Northcote's letter on the subject, will be found in our columns of intelligence. Here we have a specimen of calm, and what is called "defensive" opposition, amongst people who, apparently, may submit to necessity, however reluctantly that submission may be given.

In the Staleybridge proceedings we see the opposite of this. It was frequently the fortune of the founders of the Anti-State Church movement, in years gone by, to meet with personal violence; but, excepting once or twice during the Irish Church agitation, no experience of this kind has lately been encountered. Last Thursday, however, Mr. Carvell Williams met at Staleybridge an audience which, in one respect, ought to have delighted him. He went, by invitation, prepared to deliver a lecture on the position and prospects of religious equality in England. It was arranged that admission should be by tickets. The Tories of the borough obtained possession of a ticket, reprinted it, and packed the hall with the representatives of their forgeries. Vainly did the Secretary of the Liberation Society endeavour to obtain a hearing. A host of Lancashire Tory roughs confronted him. Lancashire throats are strong, and when Murphyites and similar sections show themselves, it has been found that they possess a pretty good deal of that quality on which the Established Church frequently relies, viz., brute force. A "row," therefore, took place. Shouts, whistling, laughter, and stamping met every attempt of the lecturer to address the audience. An invitation to join in a more forcible demonstration was then given, and the audience was encouraged to throw the lecturer down and put the table upon him. After a brief address to the reporters, Mr. Williams ultimately retired, amid shouts of applause, followed by a characteristic resolution to the effect that the Liberation Society was a "perfect nuisance," and "unworthy of toleration." These proceedings are reported in some detail in another column. They are characteristic of a certain section of the supporters of the Establishment, and, we have not the smallest doubt, are typical of what is to come. But, as Mr. Williams said, they indicate the progress of the movement, and they render the Liberation Society an untold service. Only death-grapples are as fierce as these.

A third type of the coming struggle is to be found in the proceedings at Bradford. The Liberation Society held a Conference in this town on Monday evening, which was followed by a public meeting, the particulars of which we report. On Thursday, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, on the invitation of the Bradford Church Literary Society, made his appearance, and we gather from his speech, as well as from other circumstances, that the Tory party are resolved

to make the question now at issue, as far as they can, a party question. The advantages to ourselves, and the disadvantages to our opponents, of such strategy, need not, just now, be pointed out. We wish, however, to say, and we say it with all our hearts, that, if this question is to be taken up on the Tory side, we shall be thankful to see it committed, as we imagine it will be, to the hands of Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Hardy is not only pointed out as the future leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons, but he is, on most questions, the virtual leader of it already. As such, he has always commanded the respect, and sometimes the admiration, of those who sit opposite to him. He is an earnest and conscientious Churchman, who will take up the subject, as it should be taken up, not lightly or flippantly, but in a religious spirit, and with a full consciousness of its importance. Mr. Hardy is, besides, a man of considerable culture, an orator of some weight, although, perhaps, of too great fluency, and a statesman of a well-recognised position. He is a partisan, and a narrow partisan, but that, probably, he cannot help: it is a result mainly of the natural constitution of his mind but also of his training. But, looking round the House of Commons, and taking it as it stands, there is probably no man, on the Opposition benches, who in many respects could do the Church better justice, represent it more ably, or in a better spirit, than Mr. Hardy. He is almost the very man we want to put the Establishment argument before the nation. We should have liked, on the whole, a statesman of greater breadth and profounder feeling, but we are satisfied that religion at least, will not be done an injustice to by Mr. Hardy, and that what he may say he will say in a manner that will command respect, if it does not secure acquiescence.

The style in which the Tory leader will deal with this subject was indicated in his elaborate speech at Bradford last week—the points of which were no doubt carefully chosen. As an argumentative address it was remarkably comprehensive. It touched upon many interesting and one or two vital points, and was calculated to provoke both inquiry and discussion. It was, perhaps, on such an occasion almost necessarily, shallow and inconclusive, and plausible, rather than convincing. There was a want, also, of the cheerful ring which confidence of success gives to those who know they have got hold of a right principle, and that the tide of human thought is moving towards its adoption. It was in good temper, however, and free from all personal abuse. As Mr. Hardy said, the question is one of "argument," and those who can convince the nation will win the day.

It would be impossible, of course, to attempt the smallest reply to any one of Mr. Hardy's positions. Everything that the right hon. gentleman said has been forestalled and discussed in these pages, and if this had not been the case, the present would not be the proper occasion to deal with him. We were astonished, however, on reading his preliminary remarks, to find him drawing a dismal picture of the religious and moral condition of this country—and *this* under the State Church régime. And, as Lord Macaulay has remarked, it was worse when the Church had it all to herself. Whether we intend to "destroy" the Church; whether our work is calculated to benefit Churchmen; whether the

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Establishment is really the Church of the poor; whose is Church property; or whether the Government will be an infidel Government on the separation of the Church from the State—which were the main questions dealt with by Mr. Hardy—are questions which, as he said, demand vigilant notice and careful weighing. So far as we are concerned, they shall have such weighing. We have not an atom of doubt about the issue, and if ever we had a doubt about its speedy issue, it is removed by the fact that the Tories have at last been compelled to take up the whole question. They have accepted the combat. Now, friends, or never, is your work to be done. Up, with all your might, and do it!

Look at Bradford! Had you been there last week, you would have had before you the sight of thousands of resolute men, deep-hearted and enthusiastic, but calm in judgment, and whose moral courage never swerves, who have committed themselves, heart and soul, to this movement. They will do their whole duty, and do it with equal judgment and faithfulness. And, we know, so will others. This is not the first time that the Liberation party has been tried—but this is their greatest trial. We ask them throughout the kingdom, to be equal to it, and by their work to bring about, for their country, a greater blessing than it has ever known.

#### ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

THE Established Church presents, at this moment, a public spectacle of a rather more motley character than usual. During the last week three trials having reference to the orthodoxy of certain clergymen have been going on. We noticed Mr. Voysey's case last week, but it has now grown to larger dimensions. In the estimation of most persons Mr. Voysey will be considered to have stepped considerably beyond the latitude hitherto allowed to preachers even in the Established Church. He denies some doctrines that have generally been considered to be both fundamental and vital, but whether they can be proved to be contrary to the formularies of the Establishment is quite another question. Mr. Mackonochie is tried upon other points. Has he, for instance, elevated the "paten" containing the bread and wine of the Eucharist. The question is to some extent a matter of testimony, but it appears that although Mr. Mackonochie, in his desire to obey the literal command of the court, may not have elevated the "paten," he has elevated the contents of the paten. Well, all this is, it may be imagined, considered both Church-like and honourable. And so, for anything we as yet know to the contrary, is Mr. Purchas's conduct. Mr. Purchas is great in dalmatics, chasubles, and albs, and thinks so much of them that he not only identifies them with the essentials of Christian public worship, but is willing to be tried in respect to their legality. As none of these cases are yet decided, we can comment no further upon them, but, as they stand at present, they furnish a remarkable picture of the Church that is founded on Acts of Uniformity.

It was a fair question, last week, whether Her Majesty had not practically disowned the Episcopalian Church in England. It was currently reported that the Queen had partaken of the Communion in the Presbyterian Church at Crathie. Much was made of the circumstance, but it after all turns out to have been an exaggerated rumour. Her Majesty stayed while Communion was being administered, but did not join the communicants. Why not? That is the question which should now be asked. Does the Queen not possess the religious liberty to do this? Can she not be a member of both of the Established Churches? It is an awkward question, because it might have happened that Roman Catholicism was the Established religion of Ireland; and this would have happened if the Tory party had had their way. Could the Queen then have communicated with the Established religion of Ireland? What would have happened if she had done so? We are aware, of course, of the sectarian ecclesiastical regulations against this, but suppose that the regulations had been set aside? Is not one Established religion, as such, as good as another? If the nation puts its imprimatur upon even half-a-dozen, why should not the head of the nation be allowed to belong equally to the whole half-dozen? Indeed, how can she represent the nation without? At Crathie, however, to the gratification, no doubt, of all the archbishops and archdeacons of England, the Queen appeared as an ex, or more strictly, as a non-communicant. But

what would have been done if the reverse had been the case? What would take place if Her Majesty should see fit to join the communicants of a Congregational, Baptist, or Wesleyan Church? Can any one tell? Would the Constitution fall to pieces? Would the Tories go in for the abolition of the monarchy? Would the Church—if it could—denounce Her Majesty as a heretic and undeserving of the Crown? What would happen? Our private opinion is—that Nothing would happen.

Some weeks ago we commented upon a speech delivered by Archdeacon Bickersteth upon the education question, in which the Archdeacon was represented by a local journal, to have said that the proportion of Nonconformists to Churchmen was only as three to ninety-seven per cent. At the Buckinghamshire education meeting, held last Thursday at Aylesbury, the Archdeacon, Mr. Disraeli, and the Bishop of Oxford spoke. The Archdeacon took occasion to comment upon the representation that had been made of his statement. He now says, having had long time for inquiry and reflection, as follows:—

He never said anything so absurd, but that the religious feeling of the country, which of course included Nonconformists, was in that proportion to secular feeling. He did not pretend to know the proportion of Nonconformists to the members of the Church of England in this country. There seemed to be a shyness with regard to any proposals made with reference to religious statistics among the Nonconformist bodies. (Laughter.) It was unfortunate, but perhaps it was as well it should be so, because he was satisfied there was a great number of their Nonconformist brethren who looked more favourably on the Church of England than they did formerly, and who, if they saw the Church of England was made more liberal, more catholic in its feeling, might perhaps be induced sooner or later to join her community. (Applause.) Whether Nonconformists might be represented by one-third or even by one-half of the population, he was bound to say there were amongst them men of as pure lives, of as great integrity, and as excellent in all the relations of life, as could be found in the Establishment. They longed to gather such men into the bosom of the Church, and no efforts should be wanting on their part to do their duty and make it a national transition Church, so long as that transition could be obtained without a sacrifice of principle. (Applause.)

It was worth while our having copied the report of our country contemporary, and commented upon it in this column, to have elicited such observations as these. Still, we demur quite as much to the Archdeacon's present sentiments as we did to his last, and we only hope that *this* time the report (in the *Aylesbury News*) is correct to a *t*. The Archdeacon thinks that there is a great number of his Nonconformist brethren who "look more favourably on the Church of England than they did formerly, and who, if they saw the Church of England was made more liberal, more catholic in its feeling, might perhaps be induced, sooner or later, to join her community." Stay, Mr Archdeacon! Did you not lose yourself in this speech? Haven't you told us before that there could not be a more liberal or Catholic Church in the world than this very Church of England? We thank you, however, for what followed, but want to know what you mean by a "National Transition Church"? What is, or what can be, a National Transition Church? Is its principal characteristic, Nationality or Transition? If it be Nationality, does that mean the nation, or only about the sixth part of the nation? If it be Transition, what is it transition from, what is the present condition, and what are we transiting to? This is a new phrase, but perhaps not a bad one. Each party will be apt to interpret it in its own way. Some people might think that the Church was transiting towards Romanism; others, that the movement was towards Liberation. Will the Archdeacon explain?

We report in our columns to-day some remarkable meetings of the Liberation Society in some of the large towns of England. We find in the *Leicester Chronicle and Mercury* a letter from "H. M.," putting in a plea for the villages. "H. M." writes as follows:—

Although, as an ardent Liberationist, I admire the *esprit* of the local committee which has organised the Church and State Conferences now being held at the Temperance Hall, I am not sure that more effective good would not be accomplished by holding such meetings in the small towns and villages of the country, rather than in the great stronghold of Nonconformity, where the majority of those who attend need no stimulus to quicken their detestation of the unholy alliance between the Church and the State.

In the country districts, where the Established Church is alike dominant and domineering, the fact of "vulgar Dissenters" claiming religious equality would no doubt be as startling to the clerical mind as Oliver Twist's request for "more" was to the collective Bumbledom of "the Board." At present, the great solace of the clergy is that the rural districts may be safely counted upon to stem the tide of democracy which now threatens a severance of temporal power from spiritual authority. That they are living in a "fool's paradise," no one wise to discern "the signs of the times" can doubt. Beneath the apparent quietude of village Nonconformity, there lie deep-seated conviction of the injustice of their present position, and resolute determination to grapple with the evil whenever the opportunity is afforded.

Between the two extremes there lies a great body of working men, nominally belonging to the Church, yet by no means slavish in their attachment to her interests. Let the truth concerning the gross anomalies attaching to our English State Church system be fully brought before them, and I believe that the cry for disestablishment would go up to the Legislature, not only from the working men of large cities and towns, but also from those in our country districts.

The restoration of the Irish Church to its legitimate position, by the recent act of disestablishment, ought to inspire all friends of religious equality to still greater efforts to achieve the like result for England. Believing that an agitation in the centres and strongholds of Church influence would be one of the wisest exertions on their part to bring about the end they seek, I venture very humbly to commend to the attention of the Conference Committee the suggestion I have given.

This is doing and saying quite right, but it has not, we believe, anticipated the work of the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society. No men have been more conscious than they that, since the last Reform Act, they will have to pay especial attention to the country districts. But, we put it to our large-town friends whether it would not be easier for them to arrange for lectures and meetings in their surrounding neighbourhoods than for such work to be done from the metropolis?

## SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

### CONFERENCE AT BRADFORD.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, November 15th, the members of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control in the Bradford district met a deputation from the Executive Committee of the Society in conference in the Bradford Mechanics' Institute. Alderman West occupied the chair. On the platform were Mr. Miall, M.P., the Rev. J. G. Miall, Mr. J. Carvell Williams, and Mr. E. Thomas. Between fifty and a hundred delegates were present, the following places being represented:—Barnsley, Bradford, Castleford, Chapel Allerton, Cleckheaton, Dewsbury, Gildersome, Halifax, Huddersfield, Horsforth, Leeds, Lightcliffe, Longwood, Pudsey, Rawdon College, Sheffield, Shipley, and Wakefield. The chairman having stated the object of the conference,

Mr. J. C. WILLIAMS addressed the meeting. He said the present was an age of conferences; for the clergy and laity of the Church of England were meeting in every diocese to promote the efficiency of their Church. None of those whom he addressed might be members of that Church, but he believed that one of the motives by which they were actuated was a desire to promote its well-being. They indeed did more than seek the promotion of the well-being of the Church of England, for they desired the prosperity of all Christian communities, and of the commonwealth, and these objects would, they believed, be greatly helped on by the attainment of the immediate purpose of their organisation. The great change manifested of late in the attitude of Churchmen, as regarded the prospects of disestablishment, Mr. Williams ascribed largely to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which had familiarised the idea of disestablishment in the minds of English Churchmen. That influence had been intensified by the quiet, business-like and practical way in which the work of transition was going forward in Ireland. Then this same change had come about in other places besides Ireland—in Jamaica and the Bahamas; almost without any protest from the Episcopalians. In Victoria an agitation that had lasted fourteen years had been ended, by the passing of a measure forbidding the further granting of State-aid to religion. Events of this sort must naturally have an effect on the operations of an association like the Liberation Society. In its early days the association had been content to promulgate its principles among the people, and when Parliamentary action was first taken, it was only for the removal of minor grievances. It was not till 1856 that Mr. Miall raised directly the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church—a question which, after lying in abeyance for some time, had been brought to a triumphant issue by Mr. Gladstone. The question that had to be considered by the Society after the passing of the Irish Church Act was—What was to be done next? That question was easier to ask than to answer. If they proposed to resume their early policy, and bring forward measures which should make incursions on the Establishment without directly attacking it, it would be found that almost all the work of that kind that could be done had been done, or was being done, already. Church-rates were gone; University tests would, in all probability, go next session; the opening of churchyards to Nonconformist ministers was a reform not likely to be long delayed. They were almost shut up, therefore, to the conclusion that their next work must be an attack on another Establishment. It was asked which? Some at once said the Establishment in Wales, inasmuch as it was the next worse injustice and inequality to the Irish Establishment. But, unfortunately for this suggestion, there was no Welsh Establishment. The Establishment in Wales was only a part of that of England. The same objection did not apply to the Establishment in



Scotland; but then that Church was not so unpopular; its religious discipline and doctrine being almost identical with that of the other religious bodies in the country; while its clergy were so conscious of their weakness that they were always on their good behaviour. Besides, the members of the Liberation Society felt that it was hardly likely they could excite among English Voluntaries the amount of interest in the cause of Scotch disestablishment that was necessary in order to accomplish the work; while they had a lurking suspicion that their Scotch Voluntary friends would not be willing to be behind them in the work of disestablishment. After speaking of the way in which, according to the admissions of their opponents themselves, the Liberation Society always let people know what they were going to do, and how they were going to do it, Mr. Williams said that the Society was not about to engage in a sectarian or dissenting movement. They were proceeding on the basis that the Establishment was a mistake—a political and a religious mistake, which stood seriously in the way of other most essential reforms; and on that ground they were going to ask for the abolition of the English Establishment. That, he believed, would ultimately be accomplished; but there was a great deal of work to be done before it came about. As they would be aware, Mr. Miall was next session to bring forward a direct motion on the subject. The first advantage which would result from that policy would be that the question would be widely discussed outside the House of Commons, by the many people who did not think any question worth consideration till it had been raised in Parliament. Another advantage would be the discussion of the question inside the walls of Parliament. Then it would give direction and purpose to the sentiments of many who were really good liberators, without exactly knowing it. Again, the discussion and the division that would follow it would serve the purpose of a military reconnaissance—it would show them where they were; who were their friends and who their foes; who their lukewarm and who their ardent supporters; what were their dangers and what the best course for them to pursue. It might be asked, "Don't you expect to be beaten?" It depended on what was meant by being beaten. Was it necessary, when they might be handsomely beaten in a division, that they should be also beaten in the objects he had named? Mr. Miall was beaten in 1856, but would anybody object to be ultimately beaten in the same way? Mr. Miall and his second did not expect to march into the Establishment citadel in the same way that the traditional two Uhlan's had done in France; but then they knew that, though beaten once, they might come to the fight again, and they knew also that they had an army at their backs. It might be said that their movement was premature; but then every advanced political movement was always said to be premature. It might be said that it would greatly inconvenience some of their friends in Parliament; but that was always the case with any motion of a decisive character. They knew the difficulties they would have to encounter as well as their opponents, but they did not believe those difficulties would be diminished by their waiting; and they had this certain knowledge, that they had allies in the opposite camp; for nothing short of a miracle could now unite English Churchmen on anything, and they would never again be united on behalf of the Church Establishment. Mr. Williams, after intimating that the Society meant to promote agitation more earnestly than they had done of late, closed by an appeal to the men of Yorkshire to do all they could for the forwarding of the work in which they were engaged.

Mr. ROBT. KELL moved the first resolution:—

That this conference rejoices at the fact that, by the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the object of the Liberation Society has been fully realised in one portion of the kingdom, and is encouraged by that event, as well as by the recent abolition of the Establishment in Jamaica and the Bahamas, and of State aid to religion in Victoria, to such persistent exertion as will secure the complete triumph of the principles which the Society was designed to advance.

He observed that, in proposing the disestablishment of the English Church, the members of the Liberation Society were not actuated by enmity to the Church or to religion. What they were seeking was to carry out Cavour's great formula, to establish a free Church in a free State.

The Rev. R. BRUCE seconded the resolution.

The Rev. W. THOMAS (Leeds) moved the second resolution, as follows:—

That, having regard to the facts already stated, as well as to the present state of public opinion, and to the internal condition of the English Establishment, the conference learns with great satisfaction that the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society has resolved upon operations, the definite aim of which will be the application to England and Wales of the policy adopted by the Legislature with regard to Ireland, and that it is the intention of Mr. Miall, M.P., to submit to the House of Commons, next session, a motion having in view that object.

Mr. R. GODDARD seconded the motion.

Mr. MIALL, M.P., who was heartily applauded on rising to address the meeting, said, that perhaps if their new policy had been adopted last session, or at the close of the session of 1869, it would have been regarded as naturally continuous of the policy that had already been authorised and sanctioned by Parliament. It must always appear presumptuous and precipitate to members of the Church of England, and those who sympathised with them, that they should endeavour to equalise, if it were possible, the religious denominations throughout the country. Well now, my own opinion—I state it here in order that it may go forth to the country—is, we have done only that which was natural for us to do, which, if we had not done, a charge of unfaithfulness might have been brought against us, and that justly, and which, when

done, will approve itself to the consciences of all those who have any sympathy with the principles of religious equality. This is not an accidental movement. The motion of which I have given notice in the House of Commons is a motion that I have been contemplating for many years. Long back, even before I was a member of the House of Commons the first time, it always appeared to me as, I was going to say, the consummation of the work which I had to do, and to which I had consecrated my best days, that I should be able, once for all, to set before Parliament the great object of Church enfranchisement, and the reasons by which that object might be supported, and the modes in which it might be accomplished, and having done that, whatever might be the immediate result in any division that might take place in the House of Commons on the subject, I should have done a work which I think has been assigned to me by Divine Providence. (Applause.) I have been watching for the opportunity for a long time past, and since the constituency of Bradford has done me the honour to place me in the position I occupy in the House of Commons—(applause)—I feel myself doubly committed to the accomplishment of the work, in the knowledge of which they chose me to be their representative. (Hear, hear.) Well, this is not done suddenly, as I said before. Our object is not continuing the work which was begun by Mr. Gladstone in 1869, during the session of 1870, was really and simply that we might leave the Ministry unembarrassed by a question of so large importance, at the time they were charged with measures of great importance affecting Ireland. (Applause.) But now there is no great question of high, supreme, paramount, national importance, to which we ought to defer, and consequently we think the longer we put aside this question—which, after all, is the question on which parties must range themselves within the next few years—(Hear, hear)—the greater will be the reaction from the settlement of the Irish Church problem, and the greater the difficulty in raising our friends again to that height of determination and effort which is necessary, in order to place the question in its proper position. As to any antagonism between myself and Mr. Gladstone, arising out of that little passage of arms that we had on the education question, why I had previously informed the whipper-in, and consequently, I suppose, Mr. Gladstone, long before, that it would be my duty to bring forward some such measure in the next session of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I saw when that Welsh question was brought forward, and Mr. Gladstone spoke upon it—I saw very well that it suited his political convenience at that time to put his foot down upon the principles that he had sanctioned in reference to Ireland, but which it was not convenient for political purposes that he should sanction in reference to Wales. And therefore I made him acquainted thoroughly with my dissatisfaction at the mode in which he had dealt with that question, and my determination to raise the whole question next session, in order that he might deal with it somewhat more fairly. (Applause.) He knew my dissatisfaction with that speech of his, and he knew what would be the necessary movement that would come out of it. (Laughter and applause.) The little combat that we had was altogether accidental. With regard to this motion, I want it to be understood all over the country, if I can get it to be understood, that this is not to be a movement against the Church of England, or intended to throw further difficulties in the way of the working of any religious body whatever. On the contrary, the main object I have in view—and I am sure the strongest motive that has operated with me from the first to the last is this—that we might be able by our organisation, or by stirring up some strength in the country to lift up the moral and spiritual agencies of England to a much higher plane of action and operation than they have hitherto occupied. (Hear, hear.) That is the sole object which we have. It is not a destructive one, it is not merely a negative one; it is a positive one, it is a religious one; it is one that can only be thoroughly appreciated and understood by men who appreciate and understand spiritual religion. We want all the moral forces and all the religious forces of this country lifted out, as it were, of the framework of law, and lifted up to the level of the framework of love—(applause)—so that persuasiveness shall be the great motive instead of the physical force which is the ultimate force of all Governments—that persuasiveness shall be the one great motive power by which moral and religious agencies shall henceforth be moved. Now, that is the object which we have in view. I say it is a holy object. (Hear, hear.) I say it is an object for which a man may well live, and pray, and die. (Hear, hear.) I say that there is in my opinion scarcely anything that is so benevolent in its tendency and in its aspirations as a movement of that kind. It has to do with the highest aspects and exhibitions of true Christianity, and it is as such that I have felt myself bound in my conscience and in my heart to labour in season and out of season, in Parliament and out of Parliament; and consequently I take it as one of those duties that I have to perform, as much as if I had given a public vow in support of the object. I take it to be my duty to seize upon the first available opportunity that is opened to me by Divine Providence of putting these great truths before my countrymen through Parliament, and, if possible, of getting the sanction of Parliament to them. The truth is, that this idea has been, as it were, inwrought into every movement of the European mind in this time. (Hear, hear.) There is a great tidal wave of thought all in that direction, flowing over all European countries, and assimilating to itself, submerging, as it were, all those

difficulties that have been hitherto regarded as standing in the way of the progress of this movement. (Hear, hear.) You see it everywhere. You see it in Italy; you see it in France; you see it in Austria, especially, and towards the East. You see the priestly and the kingly—the sacerdotal and the legal, that is to say, the teacher of Divine truth and the teacher or enforcer of civil truth—gradually being separated, by having the respective spheres marked off distinctly for each of them, so that each may not interfere with the other. Well, when people say I am premature in bringing forward this motion, I might say, Are we to wait until the wave of thought recedes again in Europe, and then to bring forward this motion, when it will, in fact, be too late to accomplish the end which I think is intended for it by Divine Providence? Not at all. What harm do we do? There are some of our friends to whom it will be inconvenient. Yes, but if people put themselves in an inconvenient position by their own folly, I can't help it. (Applause and laughter.) There are some who say, Wait, and let the Church do its own work. The Church cannot do its own work until we liberate it—until we untie its hands. The idea of supposing that because the Church is quarrelling, or the sections of the Church, we will say, are differing and discussing, and contending with one another for the mastery—because this is the case within the Church of England—that therefore they will all come to the conclusion that they had better give up their union with the State—the mind that can conceive of this result of the differences that are now working within the Church, must be a very peculiarly constituted mind indeed. History, certainly, does not bear out the expectation. If in the years preceding 1662 the Puritans had been left alone—even the Independents—in possession of the public endowments they would have also clung to them. As to prospects, the less they were guided by that consideration the better. If satisfied that they were doing right, he did not think they should be influenced by such a motive. But when, in 1856, he brought forward his motion on the Irish Church, the Irish members thought it was a very good thing, but one of those Utopian things that might be carried probably some fifty years hence, but that there was not the slightest chance of having it carried within the life of the present generation. It was in their view premature. Now see how Providence brings about consequences. Who thought seriously about the Irish Church till that explosion at Clerkenwell? It was that, under God, which was made, as it were, the goad by which the consciences of the English people were excited towards their Irish brethren. Mr. Gladstone felt that as much as anybody. Not that he saw the justice or injustice of the case merely from the accidental circumstance, but the accidental circumstance called his attention, and the attention of the people, so strongly, so vividly to it that it gave him the power and opportunity of doing what in principle he would have done before if it had been possible. And so now who knows what is going to happen? Look abroad upon the continent of Europe, and see the immense movements that are taking place—so the great and sudden changes that are constantly occurring in society. Who can tell what may be the next movement in this country? Would it not be better that we should do this work in quietness, calmly, considerably, from conscientious views and conviction—from the understanding rather than the passions? Should we leave this work, a great and delicate work, to be done or undertaken at a time of general public motion and confusion? I say no—let us do it now. (Applause.) Everything is quiet about us; let us undertake to lay down all the principles that, entering into the public mind, will guide the public mind when that mind becomes excited by extraneous events. In this way I think we have every encouragement to believe that the policy we have chosen is the best policy which could have been chosen for the present time. I have not much more to say, but I trust that our friends all over the country will be pleased to exercise some confidence in me as to the time the precise shape in which this subject will be brought forward. (Applause.) I have put a motion upon the notice-book of the House of Commons. I am not sure that I shall bring forward the subject in the shape in which that motion put it, but I will do so to the best of my judgment in that shape which is best adapted to the time, and the feelings and the temper of the House of Commons. I wish moreover that the question should be dealt with out of doors firmly, but with great delicacy and tact towards those members that do not agree with us altogether. I don't think we are in a position yet to say that it is our test for the election of members of the House of Commons. I don't think the time has come, though I hope it is coming very soon. I think members ought to be dealt with as gently, sympathisingly, and supportingly as possible—(laughter and applause)—so that they may feel a pleasure in being lifted up to the level of the occasion. (Laughter.) I certainly should not have brought forward the motion with a view to mere discussion, unless I had had a great practical object in view. I mean to do it with the utmost endeavour, on my own part, to treat it as a real, statesmanlike movement, upon which parties must be formed hereafter, before there is any other great struggle in the House of Commons. There is nothing now left to the Liberal party except the ballot—and the ballot will be carried presently, and the University question, which we carried for them; at least, we soon shall have done. But when these two questions are settled I defy the Liberal party to put out a programme which shall be distinctive of them, which does not include the settlement of the Church question. (Hear, hear.) If we are to have anything like the two great



historical parties pitted against one another, it must be upon that line of demarcation—the Tories on the one side and the Liberals on the other. The Tories know it, and the consequence is that they are bringing in all manner of measures for reforming the working of the Church; and either we must oppose these measures which we do not like to do—the measures of reform being good in themselves—or we must state that we have devoted ourselves to one great reform which will carry all little reforms, and consequently decline to take any steps in regard to them. As long as we have an Established Church as part and parcel of the constitution of the country, all law which is made with regard to the religious interests, or even the moral interests of the country, will greatly be influenced by the existence of that feature of the Constitution, and until we get rid of that, it is impossible for us to expect that we shall have other things in conformity with the principles of religious equality and justice; so that it is absolutely a matter of necessity with us to take up this question and urge it as we have done, and shall do, upon the House of Commons as a question of justice and principle affecting the whole community. I do not wish to do this as a Dissenter; I do not wish as a Dissenter even that the thing should prosper, but as a man who loves his country, and, I trust, as a man who loves God, I think it is one of the most important questions that ever was brought forward at any time in this country. I only hope that its treatment will be such as to insure that measure of attention—reverent and godly attention—to it, even in the House of Commons, which its paramount importance to society deserves. (Applause.)

The Rev. S. G. GREEN, B.A., suggested the introduction of the words "of disestablishment" after the words "of the policy" in the resolution; because, he contended, the Legislature in dealing with the disendowment of the Irish Church had behaved much too generously.—Mr. MIALI said the matter was one of immense importance. He was of opinion that Mr. Gladstone's policy had been one of too great generosity in dealing with the property of the Irish Church. They had assented to that policy in order to get a recognition of the principle of disestablishment from the House of Commons; but it was most undesirable that the same policy should be adopted in regard to the English Establishment.—With the alteration suggested by Mr. Green, the resolution was carried.

The Rev. B. DALE, of Halifax, moved the third resolution, as follows:—

That as it is desirable that the legislative change which the Society seeks to accomplish shall be effected, not only by constitutional means, but as a result of deep national conviction, this conference does it to be of the utmost importance that new and vigorous efforts should be made throughout the country to instruct the public mind in the principles and the facts on which the demand for disestablishment is based, and expresses the hope that all the Society's local committees, and other representatives, throughout this district, will immediately prepare to co-operate in such efforts.

The feeling Mr. Miall had expressed, that the work was one which they ought to take up as a matter of religious duty, was shared by a great many others who were prepared to assist him in that work. But they would have a great deal of opposition to encounter, and much rough work to do in the boroughs and throughout the country. He expressed the sense of gratitude which was generally felt to the constituency of Bradford for having returned Mr. Miall to the House of Commons.—The Rev. W. BEST (Leeds) seconded the resolution, and urged the desirability that special means should be adopted by the Society for laying hold of the sympathies of the working men.—The Rev. J. COMPTON, of Leeds, expressed his belief that the working men were generally in favour of the principles of the Society.—Mr. JOHN ANDREW (Leeds) endorsed Mr. Compton's views with regard to the working men of the north of England.—Mr. J. BOOTHROYD having made some observations, Dr. WILLIS urged the necessity of appealing to the people on the political aspects of this question.—Mr. R. KELL thought a fair practical inference from the facts that had passed under their own view was, that the working men of the country needed education with reference to this question, and that a course of popular lectures, having no distinct connection with any organisation, would be beneficial.—After some remarks from the Rev. W. THOMAS, Mr. MIALI explained that he regarded the work as a religious work to be done by political means. He was quite certain that they could secure the support of the working classes if they could obtain the opportunity of explaining to them thoroughly their programme. The Established Church was, after all, a middle-class Church, and not a Church for the poor, who were certainly able to discern its shortcomings.

The resolution was then put and carried, and the conference closed with a vote of thanks to Alderman West for presiding.

#### PUBLIC MEETING AT ST. GEORGE'S HALL.

In the evening, the annual meeting of the Bradford Branch of the Liberation Society was held in St. George's Hall, which was crowded in every corner. The chair was occupied by Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., and on the platform were Mr. Miall, M.P., Mr. H. Richard, M.P. for Merthyr, Messrs. I. Holden, R. Kell, Alderman West, William Whitehead, R. Yates, J. H. Wade, J. A. Clapham, James Hanson, James Wales, the Revs. J. G. Miall, T. T. Waterman, B.A., J. K. Nuttall, J. Mursell, Dr. Fraser, B. Dale (Halifax), R. Bruce (Huddersfield), Messrs. John Priestman, F. Priestman, Dr. Willis, and others. The Chairman, Mr. Miall, Mr. Carvell Williams, and Mr. Richard were vehemently cheered on taking their places on the platform.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that to be in any sense identified with that association was to him a labour of love. From early life he had been identified with it, and advancing years had only assured him of the justice of the cause and the objects with which it was identified. (Applause.) He thought it might now be fairly said that the work of the Liberation Society was half accomplished. (Hear, hear.) The session of 1869 had brought about that great change in the sister island, that great change under which there was in that country now a free Church in a free State. They sought to consummate that work, by applying the same principle of justice to the remainder of the British empire. (Applause.) And they could not but be encouraged on whichever hand they might look. In the Bahamas and Jamaica the Home Government had been obliged to terminate Church Establishments and ecclesiastical favouritism there; and in Australia the upas tree of religious favouritism was being hewn down and rooted up. In Italy, where the great statesman Cavour devoted himself to the working out of a problem of which, unfortunately, he did not live to see the consummation, the dream of his life—a free Church in a free State—had now been realised. (Applause.) And so slowly, and possibly by uneven steps, the other nations of the continent were following in the same direction. For one moment let them hear what the late Lord Derby said of the Liberation Society in connection with the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, in the House of Lords, in June, 1869. He said, "Now, my Lords, this bill in a great measure proceeds from a measure prepared under the auspices of the Liberation Society, and introduced into the other House by Mr. Miall. (Applause.) This bill has been carried in the Commons by the combination of a variety of interests. The Liberation Society I place in the very first rank. For I think that whatever may be the ignorance of the Government on that subject, they cannot be ignorant of this—that to the unceasing efforts of the Liberation Society is owing a very considerable portion of the very large amount of support they have received throughout the country during the recent election." Another lord—the Earl of Harrowby—said, on the same occasion, "The measure is a measure of the Liberation Society, and is part of a campaign against Church Establishments." Their opponents had sought at one time to fix on them the charge of inconsistency and want of frankness. That charge had never in any sense lain truly against the association. What they sought was to undo the vicious legislation of the past—legislation which had done injury to religion and to the commonwealth, and which had been a fruitful source of disagreement in social circles; and they wished the attitude of the Government of this country, as representing the commonwealth, to be one of protection towards all and favouritism to none. (Applause.) Episcopalians referred with just pride to their activity and zeal of recent years in Bradford, and to the fact that they had raised in all parts of the town churches and other institutions in connection with their body. But if they wished this to be understood as a fact telling in favour of Church Establishments, or any argument in favour of their maintenance, then he must take issue with them. The Churchmen of Bradford had put their hands into their own pockets, stimulated by a sense of responsibility, and in so doing they had copied the example of the Voluntarists. The Establishment had done nothing towards assisting the Churchmen in the great work which they had accomplished. There was one Church in Bradford, and one only, which specially represented the Establishment, and that was the venerable parish church. People's religion was there, in the main, paid for, and there, connected with the building and its interests, were all the tithes that were collected, both great and small. He had yet to learn that the old church in Bradford had been the centre of the zeal of the Episcopalian body in Bradford. To all these efforts of voluntary zeal the friends of the Liberation Society said emphatically God-speed. In the agitation of the Liberation Society no reference was ever made to Low Church, High Church, Broad Church, or any other form of Church government or party in the Church. They did not know distinctions; they could not fraternise with the Evangelicals any more than with the High Church party; they went directly to their purpose, which was, in good time, when the hour and the man should come, to bring about that change by which every religious denomination should occupy an equal position in the eye of the law. (Applause.) Already they had taken Sedan; the capitulation had taken place; and they were now investing Metz. (Applause and laughter.) That investment would be close, and would never be relinquished until they had taught to the great majority of the truth-loving and justice-loving people of this country the principles of the association, and the facts connected with the Establishment; and then they would have no fear for the issue. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN read a letter from Alderman Carter, M.P., regretting his inability to be present at the meeting. He also stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Hadfield, M.P., in which that gentleman stated that his age alone prevented his being with them, and warmly expressed the sympathy he had felt with the constituency of Bradford in the struggle through which they had recently passed, his triumph in the result, and his gratitude that they had sent Mr. Miall as their representative.

Alderman WEST moved the first resolution, as follows:—

That this meeting rejoices at the recent accomplishment of the object of the Liberation Society in Ireland, as well as at the abolition of the ecclesiastical Establishment in Jamaica, and of State-aid to religion in Victoria, and it is thereby encouraged to such further exertions as will secure

the triumph of the Society's principles throughout the Empire.

He had felt an interest in the question from childhood; it had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength, and he was not going to give up working for it yet. (Applause.) If an Establishment was unjust in Ireland, it was equally unjust in England, the only difference being that in Ireland the Church was that of a small minority, while in England it was the Church of perhaps nearly half the population, counting those who were not of any religion at all. (Applause.) He was glad that Mr. Miall was there that evening to see such a meeting as that. Mr. West warned his hearers that they would have to work during the next year if their object was to be attained. (Cheers.)

The Rev. R. BRUCE, of Huddersfield, in seconding the resolution, expressed his pleasure at being present at that meeting, which furnished a very adequate reply to certain rumours that he had heard. One vague rumour had found its way to Huddersfield, that the good people of Bradford repented of the choice they had made in sending Mr. Miall as their representative. (No, no.) If ever that rumour was repeated to him, he should reply that that meeting, by which that hall was filled from top to bottom with men who were in earnest, enthusiastic and unanimous, and who showed that what they had done they would do again—(loud cheers)—was a sufficient answer. Another rumour disproved by the meeting was that the working men of the country had no interest in the question. Mr. Bruce adverted to the circumstance that Mr. Bright chose Bradford as the place in which to launch his Reform Bill, and pointed out that Mr. Miall had made choice of Bradford to launch this movement against the English Establishment. Mr. Miall had in the men of Bradford a noble army, and they would find in him a worthy leader. (Applause.)

Mr. MIALI, who was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers and waving of handkerchiefs, commenced by a reference to the rumour alluded to by Mr. Bruce, and said that his free election for Bradford was simply an expression of attachment to great political principles, and that that verdict would, he confidently believed, be repeated, if not in his person, in the person of some other candidate more worthy of representing them. (Cheers.) If he had obtained any degree of popularity while a candidate for Bradford, it was because he preached the great principle of justice, and its application to all the great topics of the day. (Cheers.) He would ask them to do justice, in the question before them, to themselves, to their present antagonists, and chiefly to the great cause of religion. His own proposed motion was hardly a measure, and he was afraid that between his motion and the measure which would eventually be proposed, there would be at least some little interval, which would test their devotedness and perseverance. Speaking of that motion he went on to say:—First of all, let me say one word or two respecting the object I have at heart in the motion I intend to submit to the House of Commons. I have no desire whatever to inflict the smallest injury on the Church now in alliance with the State. I never had that motive operating in my bosom. I believe that what I am seeking to accomplish, if it bear any fruit, will bear fruit most largely and most beneficially in the denomination of Christians now connected by law with the State. (Hear, hear.) I do not grudge them any accession of strength or spiritual power which may come out of it. On the contrary, whatever may be the legitimate issue of our triumph, whether it be for them, for us, or for society at large, I shall rejoice at that issue, so long as it be, as I trust it will be, an issue coming out of the principles of truth and justice. (Cheers.) Then, again, I mean to pursue the object which I have set before myself with the utmost honesty, with great outspokenness, and as much gentleness of spirit as it is possible for me to exhibit. (Hear, hear.) Usually, my whole course has been assailed as though that course was calculated, if not intended, to give fresh strength to the bitterness of political and ecclesiastical feeling. I can say honestly, and with my whole heart, that that has never been my intention, and that so far as it has been the result, that result has undoubtedly been to me a source of trial and affliction. (Hear, hear.) Once more—I shall hold myself perfectly free to alter the form, so long as I don't change the substance, of the motion I intend to submit. Anyhow, I am sure to be met with the plea that the movement is premature. (Laughter.) All movements are premature that men do not like. (Laughter and cheers.) But I don't think that can be said of this motion; I don't think it can be said of any motion that wraps up a principle of justice that the people desire to be applied. The prematurity exists in the minds of statesmen and politicians—not in the minds of the people at large. (Hear, hear.) The Church of England will, of course, think it premature, as anybody, in fact, that was being led forth to execution—(laughter)—would think that the being led forth was a premature act, that would be much better put off till to-morrow. But, this is the time at which this question must be mooted, if it is to be mooted to any purpose at all during the present generation. We have had justice done to Ireland: we have postponed English efforts that Ireland might have the first fruits of the Reform Bill. (Hear, hear.) We have given to Ireland her first taste of justice, and now we wish to extend some complement and gift to our countrymen at large. Monopoly is always monopoly, whether it applies to the few or the many. There is only one great monopoly now existing in this country, the State-Church. (Hear, hear.) That the national resources should be lavished upon any section of the community, to the exclusion of all other sections of the community, and that this should be done in the



sacred name of the Gospel, which teaches us that whatever we would that others should do unto us we should do the same unto them—that such a monopoly should be allowed to exist, to strengthen itself, to expand its borders, after what we have done, after the principle that we have embodied in legislation, after the sacrifices that we made at the last general election, would be, I say, an astounding anomaly—(applause)—an anomaly for which I trust the English people will not be responsible. What is it we seek to do? We do not seek to alter the religious convictions of any one in the kingdom. We do not seek to impose upon them forms of worship, or doctrines of teaching, to which they are not prepared to assent. On the contrary, we are aiming to break those chains asunder, which every section or party in the Church of England feels to be galling and humiliating. For they cannot carry out their own purposes; they cannot govern themselves as an ecclesiastical body; they are constantly met by the stringency of law, opposing itself to the decisions of their own consciences, and they would gladly be free, every one of them, if it were not for the sacrifices that freedom involves. (Laughter and applause.) All that we seek to do is to alter their position and their relationship to the State, to put them upon the footing which is now occupied by all other denominations, to tell them to go forward in their own strength, or in the strength of their Master, and not to lean upon the arm of the State. (Applause.) We believe it will be for their good. They have never tried the wing, because they have hitherto lived in the nest. (Applause and laughter.) If we can bring sufficient power to turn the nest over—(laughter)—much as they fear the untoward results, and fancy they shall be dashed to atoms, as they fall to the ground, they will find when the day of necessity comes, that Providence has endowed them with powers which, if they will exercise them, will carry them far higher than any self-indulgence. (Applause.) They have to learn to soar aloft as other bodies have to learn it, and I believe that when that hour comes, and they feel themselves free, and not only free but capable, their charity will expand, and all religious communions may shake hands and be brethren, all standing upon the same platform. (Applause.) We don't touch their Prayer-book; nor we shall not attempt to drive them from their canons. (Laughter.) If they like those instruments of government, they are welcome to them; at any rate we shall not interpose to forbid their application of those canons voluntarily among themselves. (Hear, hear.) We shall not find fault with their bishops, but merely put them into a position in which they will be able to attend much more scrupulously, and perhaps much more successfully, to their spiritual duties. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) We shall relieve them unquestionably from the necessity of their attendance in a political assembly which we in the House of Commons are accustomed to call the other place. (Hear, hear.) We shall give them the fullest liberty to move round their dioceses, and make themselves acquainted with their clergy, and hold conferences, or, if they like it better, to hold diocesan and general synods. We wish them to have the government of themselves and of their own body entirely and exclusively in their own hands—(Hear, hear.)—but we shall not permit them to have this liberty, which is the right of every free-born subject of the realm, so long as they have their hands in the national pockets. (Cheers.) We desire that every one connected with the Church of England should still enjoy whatever spiritual advantages that Church may be supposed to give him, but we say this—and this is the one great principle at which we can strive—that no religious body, no association of religious bodies, shall take the resources of this whole kingdom and apply them to purposes that really and truly are only private purposes after all. (Applause.) Because, what is this Church? It is the Church of the upper and the middle classes; it is not the Church of the poor—in that respect it has failed. (Applause.) It has not indoctrinated the poor of this country with the faith of the Gospel. (Hear, hear.) Neither in country villages nor in large towns has it laid hold upon the sympathies of those who labour daily for their daily wage, and it is unfair, unjust, and indecorous that the resources of the State should be made use of for the ecclesiastical and religious benefit of those who can well afford to do it for themselves—(applause); whilst the poor are left, to use their own language, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. (Laughter.) Next session the country would probably be called upon to expand their defensive establishments, and unfortunately the more they spent in this direction the less they get for their money. But he thought that more than external defences, they wanted the internal first, that made men heroes, and that in every time of necessity would make them conquerors too. (Cheers.) He would caution the working-men of Bradford against the allegation that they were starving the services, while they were starving the poor from whom the taxes were wrung. (Hear, hear.) If five-and-twenty millions did not make them safe, what sum would? (Cheers.) If his motion should be considered to be premature as standing in the way of such a policy, he should feel honoured. It is not only in its disciplinary action a motion of immense importance; it is likewise substantially and directly a grand good for the country. I believe (now I am expressing only my personal opinion, and for it I am responsible) that if there be an alienation of heart among the working classes from the great principles and truths of Christ, it has arisen simply from this—they have had an imperfect, I may say a misrepresenting, exhibition of Christianity made to them, not only through the Church, but by the influence of the Church through the other

denominations themselves. We have all too imperfectly done our duty, and after all we have not made the poor—whose best inheritance I believe to be in the Gospel of Christ—understand what it is that we are seeking to do for them. And if we remove this great State machine out of the way; if we cast all religious men upon their resources; if we bring out, in consequence of the new position which we put them into, their sympathies, their exertions, their devotedness to their Master, their interest in all that concerns our common humanity, they will succeed as never they have succeeded before. (Hear, hear.) I feel perfectly certain of this, that when we have got rid of this great incubus upon our efforts, and religion can be so represented to mankind as that it shall say through every one of its preachers, "I seek not yours, but you"—then will come the day of extensive triumphs to the Church, and those who belong to the Episcopalian body will join hands with us, eye, and will be among the foremost, in blessing the day that we stirred this question. Instead of complaining of its having been done prematurely, if they had any complaint to make it would be this, that we, with our eyes opened, and seeing what was the tendency of things embodied in the State arrangements, did not long ago, with the fidelity that we ought to have exhibited, stand up before them, and protest in the name of man and God that that was not the mode in which the religion of Christ could be made successful. (Hear, hear.) Only one word more: you have listened to me with much patience and attention, as you always do—(cries of "Go on," and applause)—I only want to ask you not to let this great subject and question evaporate from your minds, merely in the shape of temporary enthusiasm. By why need I do this? I am here in Bradford. I know what Bradford men are. (Applause.) If there be any man who could understand the force, the honesty, the truthfulness, the perseverance, joined to the enthusiasm of men and women, I am that man. (Applause.) I say, if you put your hands to this work, the work will be done. It will not be done all of a hurry, but it will be done. Look at the events which are now occurring on the continent. Who can tell what will occur in our own country? Presently there will be a repetition, if I may so say—certainly in God's own time there will be a repetition—of that potato blight which carried the repeal of the Corn Laws, and of that crime in Clerkenwell which stirred up the national conscience in relation to the Irish Church. Some event, some incident, will occur, whenever the public mind is sufficiently ripe, and crystallise in a moment all the convictions and thoughts which have been floating transparently in the minds of the population perhaps for years. And then, suddenly, there will come the conviction, and the expression of that conviction through the means of the suffrage, that the Church of England shall not longer exist as an Establishment, but that it shall take its place modestly where her Lord meant all branches of His Church to take their places, in dependence upon His will, faith in His power, and repudiation of any State alliance whatever. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried with two dissentients.

The Rev. Dr. FRASER moved the second resolution as follows:—

That this meeting has learned with much satisfaction that the Executive Committee have resolved on operations intended to lead to the application to England and Wales of the policy adopted by the Legislature in regard to Ireland, and it being the intention of Mr. Miall, M.P., to submit a motion to the House of Commons having in view that object, it trusts that the friends of religious equality will everywhere afford to him their energetic support.

The speaker said that he believed he was doing a kindness to their Episcopalian brethren in helping them to greater liberty; but there could not be full liberty unless there were full justice. He referred to the downfall of the Napoleonic empire as an illustration of the truth that no institution could be permanent that was not based on justice and freedom. He held that religious truth did not need State patronage and control; that it had a vital energy of its own: that it could stand, and it had stood, without extraneous aid. Religious truth was too high a thing to be dragged into connection with the low and vile things with which it was associated when it became an institution of the State. On what ground were the English people held unworthy of that which had been done for the people of Ireland?

Mr. I. HOLDEN seconded the resolution. He did not see how any Dissenter could be otherwise than a political Dissenter, because the Establishment they opposed was political, and it was in its political character alone that they assailed it. Mr. Holden appealed to the Wesleyans of Bradford to support the Liberation movement. Some of them had got their hearts a little hardened against Mr. Miall, because of what he had said against them. He (Mr. Holden) knew all Mr. Miall had said against the Wesleyans, and he honoured him the more for it. (Cheers.) Mr. Miall never courted the smile of any man when he had to defend the truth, and that was the sort of man that was wanted in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) He called on the Wesleyans to support Mr. Miall in his attack on the political character of the Establishment, and pointed out the way in which this could best be done.

Mr. RICHARD, M.P., who was warmly received, supported the resolution. He referred to Mr. Illingworth as one of the truest, bravest, and soundest men in the House of Commons, and said he had long been very anxious to have an opportunity of meeting the men of Bradford, if only to thank them, in his own name and that of the Nonconformists of England, for the self-sacrifice, the devotion, the indomitable pluck, and the resolute persistence with which they had fought the battle and won the victory, by which

they had been enabled to send to the House of Commons his hon. friend Mr. Miall—a man who had thought more, written more, laboured more, and suffered more than any other living man for the promotion of those principles of absolute religious equality which were destined ultimately, and not very remotely, to attain to complete triumph. (Applause.) There were people in England who thought that in returning Mr. Miall to Parliament the inhabitants of Bradford had done a most alarming and revolutionary thing. (Laughter.) But, if he might infer from appearances they were such a set of impenitent sinners that they meant to do it again. (Applause and laughter.) Well, he hoped they might. It was a fitting thing that Mr. Miall, having placed on the books of the House of Commons the motion of which he had given notice, the great constituency which sent him to Parliament should be the first to rally round him and back him up in his arduous but courageous undertaking. (Applause.) The people of Wales had a Church Establishment, but they did not mean to have one much longer if they could help it. They had no intention of waiting until the people of England had made up their minds whether they wanted a Church Establishment or not; for they had found they could do perfectly well without it, the voluntary principle, notwithstanding difficulties of a very formidable kind, having provided ample accommodation and means of religious instruction and worship for every man, woman, and child, within the limits of the Principality. (Applause.) The undertaking to which Mr. Miall had put his hand was one of the formidable nature of which they must not disguise from themselves. An institution like the Church of England, whose foundation went down to historic times, which was guarded by such powerful interests, and around which gathered the halo of many venerable prejudices, with some of which they themselves found it difficult in some measure not to sympathise, was not a citadel to be carried by sudden assault. The condition of the Church of England was somewhat similar to that of our unfortunate neighbours in France. It was not the stern merciless policy of Bismark, the consummate military strategy of Moltke, the number, the prowess, and persistency of the German armies that threatened France with ruin, so much as the state of the country itself—(Hear, hear)—the want of discipline of the people, their want of harmony, their want of confidence in themselves. And this was the condition, as it appeared to him, of the Church of England at the present time. There was a total want of unity amongst the members, there seemed to be no principle of cohesion between them, they were fighting with one another and using far harsher language to each other than ever Liberationists used to them; and, therefore, he believed that the citadel would be carried not by assault but by capitulation. The members of that Church would find that they were so surrounded with difficulties, that there was so little of harmony and determination among them, and so little oneness of mind, that they must give up; and when they did, they (the Liberationists) would do as the Germans did at the surrender of Metz—they would have wagon-loads of healthy, spiritual nutriment prepared, with which to receive them as they came out half-starved from the citadel. (Applause.) Mr. Richard, in conclusion, observed that the sight of that meeting had given him fresh courage. He had had some doubt as to the prudence of the step taken by Mr. Miall, but he was not aware of the force that Mr. Miall felt he had behind him. (Applause.) Backed by them, he would be able to stand up with tenfold courage to advocate the great principles to which he had consecrated his life, and with God's help he (Mr. Richard) would do what little he could to support him. (Applause.)

The motion was carried. Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS then moved the appointment of the local committee for the ensuing year. Mr. R. KELL seconded the motion, which was carried; and on the motion of the Rev. J. MURSELL, seconded by Mr. W. WHITEHEAD, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, which brought the meeting to a close.

#### CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

The Society's Lancashire friends assembled in conference in the Town Hall, Manchester, on Thursday morning, when nearly 200 gentlemen were present. Among them were Mr. Miall, M.P., and Mr. Carvell Williams, who represented the Executive Committee, Mr. Eccles Shorrocks (Darwen), Mr. J. Slater (Winsford), Mr. B. Ridley (Congleton), Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Alderman Rumney, Mr. Ab. Haworth, Mr. James Ashworth, Mr. Councillor Hoyle (Rochdale), Dr. Pankhurst, Mr. Saml. Watts, Mr. Joseph Thompson, Mr. Jos. Leese, the Rev. C. Williams (Accrington), the Rev. T. M. Herbert (Cheadle), Mr. J. F. Roberts, the Rev. G. S. Reaney (Warrington), Mr. J. O. Nicholson (Macclesfield), the Rev. H. Griffiths (Bowdon), the Rev. G. F. James, the Rev. J. H. Ouston (Bury), the Rev. T. Stimson and Mr. Isaac Wright (Middletown), the Rev. E. Bolton (Preston), the Rev. J. Hutchinson (Ashton-under-Lyne), Mr. R. Thompson (St. Helens), Mr. W. R. Murray (Warrington), the Rev. D. N. Jordan, the Rev. J. Medcraft (Stockport), Mr. R. S. Ashton (Darwen), Mr. Alderman King, the Rev. A. Thomson, Dr. Willis (Burnley), Mr. Councillor Whittaker (Blackburn), the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mr. F. Underwood, Mr. Jas. Boyd, the Rev. T. Willis, the Rev. T. C. Finlayson, and Mr. J. B. McKerrow.

In the absence of Mr. J. Sidebottom, President of the Manchester Branch, who was absent from domestic affliction, Mr. Councillor BOOTH was called to the chair, and briefly opened the proceedings.



The Rev. Mr. MACFADYEN, one of the secretaries, stated that the Rev. A. MacLaren had written to say that nothing but his absence in Scotland would have prevented him from attending the meeting. The Rev. Dr. Beard, who was also unable to attend, wrote to Dr. M'Kerrow—

I cannot satisfy myself without expressing full sympathy with the object of the conference. No more important question remains to be settled out of all those in which you and I have worked shoulder to shoulder. I am especially gratified in being assured, from reading Mr. Miall's recent utterances, that he not only thoroughly understands the real bearings of the issue raised, but will approach it in a considerate as well as a comprehensive and Christian spirit.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS was then called upon to make an introductory statement, in opening which he said that a short time ago he received a letter from one of the Lancashire Conservative members, asking if he had any objection to give him the latest information respecting the present policy of the Society, and, regarding that request as a mark of confidence, rather than a piece of presumption, he had readily complied with it. That honourable member had since made public use of the information, and, in doing so, had said that whatever might be thought of the Liberation Society, it always told people plainly what it meant to do, and how it meant to do it. (Laughter.) It was because that was a true description of the Society's position that Mr. Miall and himself were there to-day. After stating that a new epoch had been reached in the history of the Society's movements, he adverted to the abolition of the ecclesiastical establishments in Ireland, in Jamaica, and the Bahamas, and the abolition of State grants for religious purposes in Victoria. Among the reasons which induced the Executive Committee to resolve on a movement against the English Establishment were measures—like that of Lord Sandon—which aimed at prolonging the establishment by virtually reconstructing it. It was too late to reconstruct the Church Establishment. (Hear, hear.) It would be utterly vain to seek to patch it up, and, further, the Nonconformists were not going to stand quietly by and see the Act of Uniformity abrogated, all tests and creeds in the Church of England abolished, and that Church made so comprehensive that it might admit anybody who chose to enter it. The members of the Church might please themselves in all these matters, but not until they became disestablished. (Cheers.) A so-called comprehensive Church would inflict increased injustice on a large section of the community which altogether disapproved of establishments, because they would be called upon to aid in supporting, not one, but a dozen or a score of religious systems of which they did not approve, instead of one. (Hear, hear.) The public mind had been prepared for disestablishment by the Irish Church agitation, and the executive had arrived at the conclusion that there was really but one course before them. They had destroyed all the outworks of the Establishment, and now they felt that they ought to fulfil the predictions of their opponents, and march towards the citadel. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. A. MACFADYEN having moved, and Mr. NICHOLSON, of Macclesfield, seconded a resolution, which was carried,

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., moved the next resolution. Mr. Miall he had always regarded not merely as the leader of English Nonconformists, but as the best exponent of the views of a much larger party—the party which was in favour of free churches everywhere. (Applause.) He could imagine nothing more encouraging than the present signs of the times. (Hear, hear.) He did not say that Mr. Miall would achieve an easy victory. Far from it; but he ought to be greatly encouraged by what he saw around him. There was, in the first place, a considerable party within the Church which looked with favour upon what he was about to do—(Hear, hear)—and secondly, looking over the United Kingdom, did Scotland care for church establishments? Scotland gave an almost united vote in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. (Applause.) Could the Irish members of Parliament have any great zeal for the English Church Establishment? (Hear, hear.) And with regard to Wales, when they got the ballot—(applause)—he understood from gentlemen, who knew the Principality well, every one of its representatives might be expected to support Mr. Miall upon this question. (Applause.) With Scotland, Ireland, and Wales backing, at any rate, a considerable party in this country, the present was not the time for the leader of the anti-State Church movement to be faint-hearted. (Hear, hear.) When the disestablishment of the Church might take place they knew not, but it would be an undoubted blessing to this country, and no less a blessing to the Church itself. (Applause.)

The Rev. E. BOADEN (a minister of one of the Methodist bodies) seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Alderman RUMNEY, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. MIALL, M.P., who was received with loud cheers, the whole audience rising, said that the first place of importance to which he came, before the Liberation Society was established, with a view to take the first steps towards the accomplishment of the things which were now so immediately before us, was Manchester; and here at Manchester from time to time he had usually presented himself when any task or enterprise of greater difficulty and magnitude than ordinary had to be undertaken. The people of Manchester had never failed in times past, and he trusted they would not fail in this, the last, as it was the largest, undertaking. In the Established Church itself there was a sort of general expectation that this question was to be the question to engage all

their energies, whether for support or opposition, during the next ten years. The Establishment, in point of fact, had too much life in it to last. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He did not mean that that life would not last; it was the life of the Establishment that would kill the Establishment. It had got too much zeal, too much conscience, to put up with the legal restraints and difficulties by which it was constantly surrounded. All the religious communities into which it was divided, simply for want of room for themselves, were contending each with the other to get the other out, in order to make room for the principles and doctrines which they wished to see triumphant. This was the very moment when, above all others that had preceded it—within our generation at all events—there was more earnestness to be right and true in the Church than perhaps had ever existed before. For the Society to stand by at this moment and do nothing would be a great mistake, the consequences of which it would be impossible almost to calculate, because if the question was not now settled, when there was a great deal of earnestness in the Church, when was it likely to be settled? The whole of the Methodist body was either with them, or was undergoing a change. There was no doubt about the Baptists and the Independents, and the working men were all in favour of the broad principles of justice. There was no doubt that a very large number of members of the House of Commons, however, they might vote if the question came on to-morrow, would regard it as the best thing that could occur for England and Wales that it should get rid of the incubus of a State Church. It certainly would be an anomaly if those who were elected on the principle of disestablishment were to carry out that principle with regard to one part of the country and altogether pass away from the application of the principle in this country. This was a political question, and it was a question that must be settled exclusively by political means and upon political considerations. An important question was, Were they to settle the English question on the same principle as the Irish Church Bill? His idea was that we gave up a great deal of public property in Ireland very recklessly on that occasion, and were only excused on the ground that in such a case it was wise to be as generous as possible. There were two things that had to be looked at very carefully before the bill was drawn up. But he would, in the first place, insist upon it that the principle of disestablishment, as it must be accompanied by a satisfaction of vested rights and life interests, should be carried out in such a way that these vested and life interests should be attended to only, and that they should not be made an instrument by which we should have a powerful spiritual corporation in this country, maintaining its ascendancy almost by the same means after disestablishment as it did before it. (Cheers.) He saw no reason why that principle should have been introduced by Mr. Gladstone into the Irish Church Bill, and he believed it was introduced into the bill far more to carry out Mr. Gladstone's own views of propriety than to render easier the accomplishment of the object he had in view. It was quite natural that, in the carrying out of disestablishment, vested rights should cease upon the cessation of the life upon which that interest rested. They wanted no commutation schemes. They did not want to capitalise the whole thing, and throw the capital, as it were, into the hands of a corporation. A good deal of pressure had been brought to bear in Ireland to take the advantage—if it was an advantage—of taking the vested interest out of the hands of single individual clergymen, and making it over to the hands of a corporation—namely, the new Church. He believed that to be a thoroughly mistaken policy with regard to the Church itself, because the very best thing the Church could have was abundance of life, and if they smothered that abundance of life by heaping upon it all manner of capitalised vested interests, the Church would find out the mistake after some years. But, independently of this, it was not the part of a statesman in this matter to go to Parliament and ask Parliament not to busy itself about the interests of religion, seeing that Parliament was not qualified to busy itself about these interests, and in the same breath to ask it to put a Church into a position which would best enable it to meet with certain difficulties arising out of the disestablishment principle. That was an inconsistency. He thought it should be fairly understood that the principle of disestablishment should be carried out as naturally as possible, and that the process should be going on everywhere. As clergymen died, their livings should cease and be appropriated by the Government, to be appropriated, perhaps most beneficially, year by year, for the accomplishment of the purposes for which Government always asked for revenue. He saw no difficulty about spending the money. (Cheers and laughter.) That was among the foremost questions in the discussions upon the Irish Church Bill. A very ingenious plan was submitted to the House of Commons and ultimately carried, but nothing would come of it, he felt persuaded. The best thing they could do was to have no particular disposition of the money. Let the money go into the exchequer as it ceased to be applied to spiritual purposes; let it come into the general exchequer which supplied the sinews of war in regard to civil purposes. That seemed to him to be the most natural way in which the revenues could be employed. The great danger that would be urged by politicians against the movement they had taken in hand would be that they were going to create and allow the existence of a great spiritual corporation to which statesmen would have to defer. But we had that now, so that he did not think we should lose

much, even if we exchanged for the present state that which was objected to. It would be our own fault if we had it in future, because a corporation like the Church of England when it became separate from the State, and had no public revenue of any kind to deal with, would not be necessarily of a particular political shade, any more than the working classes would be of a particular shade of opinion. In this country he believed we must have a Church, but we did not want our Church to be a branch of the civil service. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He did not think it was worth while discussing whether all sects were to be paid or not in this country, or whether they were all to be comprehended within one Establishment, the only tie being a tie of relative emolument, and being comprehended within the pale of the law. It was entirely and utterly opposed to the genius of the English people, and he was certain it was as utterly opposed to the genius of Christianity, to have no such thing as a Church, but only religion supported by the pay and restricted in some measure by the laws of the State. As to the prospect of this question, he looked forward to it with a great deal of sanguine anticipation. (Cheers.) When one statesman of great influence chose to say that he had made up his mind that the time had come for the settlement of a public question, conversions came by platoons, and on the morrow of a declaration of that kind, in place of the majority being against the proposal, one almost lost the sense of one's own importance from the majority being with him. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. Dr. M'Kerrow moved a resolution affirming the necessity for vigorous action on the part of the Society's friends. He said he quite agreed with the statement that this was a great Christian question; and it was, first of all, because it was a great Christian question that he had felt it to be his duty for nearly fifty years to maintain the principles and seek the accomplishment of the objects the Society had in view. Their principles were the same now as ever they were. He was pleased to see that some of the clergy of the Church of England had reached the conclusion that something might be said in behalf of the Society; and he believed there was a very much larger number of clergy with them than was generally supposed. Some time ago he had a visit from a young curate, who complained of the bondage in which he and others like him in the Church were. He (Dr. M'Kerrow), replied, "I never find that any of your class of men do anything for freedom. You tamely submit to leave us to advocate your cause, and do the work which you should have the courage and manliness yourselves to perform. I have never known one of you send up a memorial to Government claiming freedom. I have never known one of you call a public meeting, and consult together for the accomplishment of what you consider to be just ends." He very quietly replied, "No, we cannot do that"; and the conversation went on, "Why do you not form a trades' union among yourselves and strike? If a strike was justifiable in any circumstances, it is justifiable in this." He said, "The fact of the matter is, not one of us curates dare utter a sentiment such as I have been expressing privately to you; every one of us would be marked men, and if it were known that we were agitators for reform, not a man of us would receive a situation in connection with any church; those who are in a higher station than ourselves are looking for preferment, and there are the greatest difficulties on the part of earnest and conscientious men doing anything in the way of freeing the Church from the patronage and control of the State." He (Dr. M'Kerrow) thought they should be able to help some of these gentlemen by creating a public feeling on their behalf, and assist them to assert their principles, and do for Christ's cause and civil liberty that which he thought they might do if they had a little more manliness and courage. (Cheers.)

The Rev. THOMAS GREEN, of Ashton, seconded the motion, and urged the necessity for increased action in Lancashire, especially among the Episcopalian clergy and laity, whom, he thought, they had not credited with a sufficient amount of ignorance in regard to the merits of the question. ("Hear," and laughter.)

The Rev. G. S. REANEY, of Warrington, asked whether it was advised that they should fight a losing game, by risking the loss of a Liberal seat in order to carry a candidate holding their views.

Mr. HAY, of Wigan, suggested that the most influential and the ablest men the Society could find should address the people on the subject in all the towns during the next few months.

Mr. KINGSLEY urged the importance of letting it be understood that the English Church must not be disestablished on the same terms as the Church in Ireland had been, for that Church had been so lavishly compensated that it would be greatly injured by it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. S. ASHTON, of Darwen, said that great pains should be taken to instruct the public mind in regard to the Church property question, as much would turn upon it.

Mr. MIALL, in reply, said that the Society would do its best in the way of speaking and lecturing, though he himself could do but little. It was about to issue a shilling edition of "The Title-deeds of the Church of England in its parochial endowments examined." Mr. Reaney's question could not be answered in a general way. It was a matter of time and circumstance, and each case must be decided by those who were locally concerned. (Hear.)

Votes of thanks to the deputation and chairman closed the proceedings, which lasted three hours.



# AN EVENING WITH THE STATE-CHURCHMEN OF STALYBRIDGE.

Those who know Stalybridge are aware that the Toryism and State-Churchism of that borough are of as low a type as those of any town in Lancashire, and Nonconformity has hitherto made little or no effort to improve it. The Liberator in the adjacent town of Ashton—who are earnest as well as numerous—have long wished to bring some influence of a right kind to bear upon the place, and, as one means of doing so, resolved to invite Mr. Carvell Williams to give a lecture on "The Present Position and Prospects of Religious Liberty in England." The time fixed was Thursday evening, the 17th November, the place the Town Hall, Stalybridge, and, in the hope of securing order, the admission was by ticket. Vain hope! for the supporters of the Establishment began their work by issuing cleverly executed forged tickets, the holders of which took care to be very early, so as to pack the hall. No sooner had the lecturer, with his friends, reached the hall door, than they had warning of what was in store for them in the exclamation of one of the onlookers, "Heigh, lad! but thee'll have a awful meeting to-night." And, in a certain sense, so they did—what followed being most graphically described in the *Ashton News*, of whose report we avail ourselves, in giving a brief sketch of the proceedings.

Hostilities commenced immediately on the arrival of the lecturer, who was received with a cry, half hoot, half yell, proceeding from the throats of all the lads of whom the audience was mainly composed. The Rev. W. Evans, Baptist minister of Stalybridge, at once took the chair, as previously arranged; whereupon it was quickly moved, seconded, and resolved, that one John Dixon, a clogger, should preside. But Mr. Evans did not think proper to give way, and, therefore, when he essayed to speak, "Rule Britannia" was struck up below, and an animated discussion took place on the platform, in regard to the chairmanship, the value of the forged tickets, and other equally exciting matters.

After a short time, Mr. Carvell Williams rose, and the storm was fresh. The songs indulged in were as varied as it is possible to conceive, ranging from Balaanallan praises of John Barleycorn, to Christmas and other hymns. After singing a rollicking song, to which the audience kept time with their feet, cheers were called for "our chairman," and one great admirer of himself shouted, "Three cheers for me." Then followed a discharge of Kentish fire with a simultaneous clapping of hands, succeeded by more songs, including "Tommy Dodd," and "Johnny comes marching home." The lecturer made a humorous allusion to the last song, but it was received by the meeting with a very bad grace. Two rough navy-like fellows then got on the platform and swung their caps awkwardly round their unkempt heads to raise a cheer, which of course they succeeded in doing, after which they took up a prominent and exalted place on the platform. Mr. Williams smilingly watched the performance; occasionally pulling out his watch to see how time was going, and trying to get a hearing for a good-humoured remark; but, so strictly were his lips watched, that the instant they were seen to open, the uproar increased in intensity. Twice only was there a short lull—once when a man in the hall, who was addressed as "Jim," said that if his advice were followed, they'd let the lecturer be heard; for, if he were not, how could he be answered? Another man suggested that the chairman should vacate his seat, and the lecturer should be allowed to go on. Neither piece of advice, however, was taken; for, as they had come to make a row, they were determined not to be balked in their purpose.

Nearly three-quarters of an hour had now passed, and although there had been good humour, and no violence, the crowd was increasing, and the police and other authorities were in attendance, ready for any breach of the peace. It was, therefore, thought prudent to prepare for a retreat while it could be effected, and on that fact being signalled by the ringleaders, who throughout were on the platform, there was a pretty general up-rising of the audience. Lads began to clamber up the sides of the platform, using the reporters' table as a stepping stone. The audience was a surging mass, the object of the more active being to ascend the platform. This they did in large numbers, and if the promoters of the meeting had remained much longer on the platform, they would have rendered themselves liable to be overborne by a tumultuous rush, and be precipitated from the platform. The audience were in ecstasies at the success of their manoeuvring, and emboldened by their success, they were beginning to encroach more and more upon the little knot in the centre of the platform.

Mr. WILLIAMS then addressed himself to the reporters, who stood close around him. He said:—"Before I arrived in this town I had the strong conviction that the Liberation cause was making rapid progress. That conviction is strengthened by what I have witnessed here to-night. It is very evident that the members of the Church Establishment, at least in this town, fear the results of free discussion, and being determined that the truth shall not be heard, they are ready to resort to brutal clamour, in order to stop the mouths of those who wish to speak it. Whether you will be pleased with the result or not, I am sure that you have to-night rendered the Liberation Society a service of the extent of which you are probably not conscious, and having given you that piece of information, I wish you all 'good night.' I may add, that, fortunately, the press is free, if the right of public meeting in Stalybridge cannot be enjoyed, and what would have been said

to you to-night, had you had the courtesy to listen, may be made known to you and others through the press, and by that means a greater effect may be produced than, possibly, could have been the result of the lecture which I hoped to have had the opportunity of giving you."

The lecturer and the promoters of the meeting then left amid the laughter and ridicule of the audience. Three cheers were given for "Church and State," and other expressions of Tory sentiment were indulged in. Mr. Dixon then took the chair, not after the usual fashion, but stood upon it, and even the table was used for this purpose by his supporters. Mr. Leach then proposed the following extraordinary resolution:—

That this meeting is of opinion that the agents and agitators of the Liberation Society are a perfect nuisance to religion—(loud cheers)—and are unworthy of toleration—"Ah"—that they foster a spirit of infidelity—"Go into them, old lad"—and encourage Romanism—(cheers); and, further, that the Nonconformists have always proved themselves most despotic and intolerant to those who differ from them, and we therefore deem them unworthy of our confidence. (Cheers.)

This was at once seconded and carried; three cheers were given for "our good English constitution"; "God save the Queen" was bawled out with more spirit and energy than melody, and the meeting then began to disperse without any further disorder, and the lights were turned out, but for some time after, groups of Constitutionalists were to be seen in the street discussing the evening's proceedings.

Commenting on these proceedings the *Ashton News* says:—

The Murphyite rabble of the town have again covered it with disgrace by disturbing the meeting of the Liberation Society. They doubtless know the strength of their own case best, but this conduct is an open confession that it cannot be defended by fair and honest means. Forgery and mob-violence are the main pillars upon which the union of Church and State rests in Stalybridge, and another great question must be added to the list of those upon which the Tory mob will listen to no reason.

The Stalybridge Tories cannot imagine that the sun will not shine because they will not admit his light, or that Liberation principles will not pervade the town because they will not listen to them nor allow them to be explained in public. They will be heard, and believed, and acted upon, and the day is not distant when the reports of such scenes as occurred on Thursday night, will be read with incredulity or pity that the men in Stalybridge should be such moral cowards as to be afraid to hear words spoken in calmness and good feeling on topics which are being discussed in every other quarter with one invariable result, the adoption of the principles of the Liberation Society by men of understanding and piety.

It also states that it will this week publish the lecture which Mr. Williams was unable to deliver.

## MR. GATHORNE HARDY ON CHURCH AND STATE.

On Thursday evening the annual *soirée* of the Bradford Church Institution was held at St. George's Hall, which was crowded. The chair was occupied by Mr. M. W. Thompson (late M.P. for Bradford), and amongst those present were the Mayor, the vicar, and a number of the local clergy. When the ordinary business was concluded,

The Right Hon. GATHORNE HARDY, M.P., rose to address the meeting, and was received with enthusiastic cheers. He commenced by a reference to the state of society amongst them. Atheism openly preached, a great flood of immoral and impure literature flooding the country, and vast—such vast masses—he saw them estimated in some publications at as high as five millions—of persons who were altogether without the scope of all the religious bodies of the country, and not approached by any of them. Much had been done to meet this evil, but much more was needed. There were those who told them that the remedy was to take away and destroy—so far as they could destroy it—the connection between the Church and the State. Now he would say in the beginning that in advocating the cause of Church and State, he did not despair of the Church, for even if she were left destitute, if everything were taken from her which she rightfully possessed, she would yet hold her own; but he did not think that that was any justification for taking from her that which belonged to her. (Cheers.) Once Nonconformists thought the establishment of religion was not wrong, and they desired to see the Church of England great and powerful. But prophets had arisen in these days. He would not abuse them, but test their arguments. It was said that it was morally wrong that one religion should be put in places of authority in preference to another. The Church of England was said to occupy that position, and it was a degradation to other churches:—

Why, I always thought, according to the statements of the Liberation Society, that the degradation was on our side, because they call themselves a society for the liberation of the Church from State control. But suppose we like it. (Applause.) Suppose we think that the position we occupy is one which we justifiably hold, and which we hold to the advantage of the country. Suppose, instead of agreeing with them, that we, the slaves of the State, unworthy that we are, hold that the State is upon equal terms with us, and that, while taking advantage of the protection of the State, we at the same time do holy work which at once benefits the State, and benefits society. What degradation? Why, gentlemen, I am a Dissenter in Scotland. I go to Scotland, and I feel no degradation because the Churches of Scotland are in the hands of the Presbyterians. (Applause.) The Episcopal Church in Scotland is poor, has been deprived of its revenues, and has little to attract, as you may say, in its outward appearance. Well, I go there, and go to the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and if I lived in Scotland I should go there, and feel myself as good as any Presbyterian in the country. (Applause.)

If I go abroad I find myself alone; there is perhaps no place to which I can go. But I never think, though there may be other Protestants in that country not of my own profession, that any wrong is done to me, because those who are in the vast majority there, to whom the endowments have been given, are in possession of those endowments, and use them as they think proper. Well, let the arguments be all the one way or the other, who is degraded? Is it the man who thinks that in working with the State he is doing a real good to the State, who thinks it is the best mode—and if you are to test it by Scripture, as we are told that we must test things, the only example we have in Scripture is a national church—is it the State Churchman who is degraded, or the man who, I know not for what motive, thinks that because certain endowments, certain honours are in the possession of others, that he is wronged, that he is degraded, that he is trodden under foot. And yet at the very moment while he says, "You are treating me as a worm, you are ill-treating me and bringing me down to the dust," he says, "You yourself are in the most degraded position, and we are longing to relieve you from it. (Applause.) It is entirely for your own good we want to do those things; you are under State control, and we want to relieve you from it." (Laughter.) One does not like to use a slang phrase, but we may reply, "Thank you for nothing." (Applause.)

The resources of the Church might be called national resources, but they were held for a special purpose, and if ever they were redistributed, it was for the benefit of that Church. They are set apart for her separate use—

I know what will be said. They will say to you—"But at the time of the Reformation you took possession of endowments which had been given to the Roman Catholics." And it is a very plausible argument. We did take possession at the Reformation in a certain sense, that is to say, we continued in possession as the Church renovated and reformed, of what the Church corrupted and debased had had before. One thing is clearly admitted—that at the Reformation the people of England joined it, and that they severed their connection with Rome, but that they retained their creeds and beliefs. The Church of England holds the same creeds and beliefs as she held before the Reformation. The corruption in the Church before the Reformation was corruption of practice, not corruption of creed. It was not till the Council of Trent that the creed was changed. It was Rome which forsook the old creeds and added new ones. (Applause.) And what has she done since? Have we not a right to say, when we find the learning, the integrity, and the piety of some of the first bishops of the Roman Church opposing new dogmas which are attempted to be fastened upon them,—have we not a right to say that even those who gave their wealth in ancient times, when these doctrines were unheard of and undreamt of, would never have given it for those purposes, but for the creeds which then were in existence. But, at all events, there is no proposal on the part of the gentlemen who are so anxious, to give money to the Roman Catholics. (Laughter.) Do you suppose that the Church of England has gone on since the Reformation without adding to her stores? Do you suppose that cold hearts have been so prevalent in the Church since that time as that nothing has been added. I venture to say that even in recent years almost an entire reconstruction of our churches has taken place; almost an entire rebuilding of the schools which accompany churches, and ought to accompany churches in all instances, has been carried on throughout the country. And when you talk of taking away that which belongs to the Church as national resources, I say you are playing upon words. They are national so long as the nation uses them for the purposes for which they were meant; they are for Church purposes, and Church purposes alone, if the nation chooses to repudiate the Church. (Applause.)

But it was said the Church of England was not the Church of the poor. He denied it. To whom were they indebted for the voluntary principle in its force and in its fulness? To the Church of England. (Applause.) Of the day education of this country already seventy-five per cent. was in the hands of the Church. (Applause.) When the Dissenters found themselves in a poor district, they migrated to a richer one. (Cheers.) Then they were told it had been said that the poor were left "to the uncovenanted mercies of God." The poor left to the uncovenanted mercies of God! The poor, to whom the Gospel was specially to be preached, among whom our Divine Master found Himself? To say that anybody had used such language with reference to the poor, was a fable and a fiction. But the Church was not in unity with itself. If that were really so, she would come to grief. But was it true?

In all ages and in all times there have been different forms of opinion in the Church; that is to say, its members have held the same creeds, but one has given prominence to one doctrine above another: one has thought more of one particular creed than another, and so it always will be, to the end of time. But that is not disunion. That is the different view which the human mind will naturally take of different truths and their effect and force and power. (Hear, hear.) But when we talk of disunion in the Church, what is the meaning of all the names which are combined among the sects against us? (Hear, hear.) Are they united for a special purpose, or are they as united as they profess to be? (Hear, hear.) If the members of the Church of England were united in the manner which I see some one described when he said every Dissenter must be a political Dissenter if he were thought a Dissenter at all—if every Churchman then were a political Churchman, so far as the Church is regarded, I can only say we might laugh all Dissenters—in the way of opposition to us—to scorn. (Applause.) I am speaking of it now as an attack on the Church; but it is true that politically different views are taken by Churchmen with respect to the Church. No doubt of it. If we were united together in actual unity, so that we did not differ one from another upon that particular subject, no doubt we should be stronger than we are. But who expects such a thing as that in the Church of England, which has a liberal and comprehensive creed, and which has not attempted to tie down man by an inflexible law? You must expect in such a Church as that that there



will be successive waves of thought. At one time one wave will be stronger than other, but in the end the great ocean finds its level, and it is better than that tideless sea which never washes away the filth upon its shores except during a storm, whereas the Church of England may be compared with the living ocean, which may be agitated by successive waves during the day, and in the evening lies in its peaceful slumbers, in its beauty and in its purity. (Applause.)

Suppose those who were combined to put an end to the union of Church and State were successful. They must have, politically speaking, an infidel Government. What would be the result?

Hitherto we have consecrated our Sovereign by a solemn ceremony. At the coronation we call upon her to take certain vows respecting the State which she is about to govern. Probably nothing so solemn as a coronation can be imagined. But then of course you must have no religious ceremony. If you have a coronation at all, you must put aside all religion, and treat it purely as a secular matter. Your Parliaments, which are opened with prayer for the direction of Divine Providence, for the direction of the Divine wisdom in the legislation which they are about to enact, must put aside their chaplains, and enter upon their duties without any pretence of calling upon God. Some may say that the ministers of different denominations may take the duty in turn. All I can say is, it would be a very objectionable thing to my conscience if it was taken in turn. (Hear, hear.) I can imagine what would be the case if it were done fairly, and you took all the extraordinary creeds which come into existence, and acted upon the principle that they had just the same rights as those which are founded upon truth—I can imagine if you took them in turns you would get into a most inextricable difficulty. (Hear, hear.) But what about your chaplains? Now, the machinery, the new principle of gaol government is, that you are not merely to correct, but you are to reform. How are you to reform? I am addressing an audience who, I trust, believe that reform of character without religion is an impossibility. (Hear, hear.) If you are to have this infidel State, are chaplains to be continued in gaols? If so, what chaplain would be chosen? If any one is chosen, the same difficulty arises: those who are left degraded will say—"The national resources are applied to the benefit of people with whom we disagree," and they are just in the same position as before you disestablished the Church. (Applause.) Then at present you have chaplains for your army and navy. Are you going to leave them without any charity—the men who come forward to shed their blood for their country—are you going to leave them in the hour of suffering and death, without chaplains who may offer them that consolation which now they can offer them according to their creed? Because at present there are not only Churchmen, but Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic chaplains, and I have no doubt if there were enough soldiers of any other denomination, a chaplain would be found for them also. According to this new theory, all these things ought to be done away with, if they act upon logical principles, and logic is the thing upon which we are always taunted. (Hear, hear.)

He was far from imputing to the great body of Dissenters the hostility to the Church of England which was implied by those who professed to represent them. It was complained that the Wesleyans were not ready to join in this agitation. But the Wesleyans had acted for themselves hitherto, and if they had not obtained the respect of those who would inveigle them into their section, they had obtained the respect of those who had watched them from without. (Applause.) It was also complained that the working people were apathetic on the subject. But they had their eyes open, and saw that nothing could be gained by the disestablishment of the Church. Where was the money to go if Church and State were separated? Did they think it would be better applied than it now was in the evangelisation of the country? Did they think that they could in hospitals, or in lunatic asylums, or, as was once proposed, in lighthouses, do more good than was now being done with it in this country? He said no. (Applause.) Let the arguments be fairly weighed on both sides, and he thought the conclusion would be that it would be a folly and a sin to throw away that which they had inherited from their forefathers, and which they trusted to increase for their descendants. (Applause.) There could be no dispute that a great combination existed to get rid of the union of the Church and the State. But if they met it boldly it was nothing. (Applause.)

If you are pusillanimous, and fancy that because people tell you that certain principles are perfectly clear—that there is nothing to be said against them, and you had better give it up, then I say that all the privileges you enjoy, and all the advantages given you by a Church Establishment, you are unworthy of—(applause)—and you will be deprived of them to your inevitable desolation and disappointment. (Applause.) I now come to the resolution which I have to move:—

That the combinations existing for the overthrow of the Church of England as by law established, and for the severance of religious from secular instruction in our places of education, should be met by a firm and organised resistance, and that the principles upon which Church Institutes are founded, demand from them union and united action in furtherance of such resistance.

I hope you agree with that. Education, it is often supposed, is confined to primary schools, to the early years of youth, to the early period of our life in which we have all the life and spirit of boyhood about us; and that then our education is complete. There is no greater mistake. Education is a thing for young and for old. It never ceases; it goes on during the whole course of your life; and it is as important that you should have good schools when you are young, as that you should have a good Church and good instruction when you are old. (Applause.) He would throw no impediments in the way of carrying out the Education Act of last session. But the Church of England was bound not to lose the hold she had on the education of the people, and to increase it, believing that religion was essential to education. The rule in all public elementary

schools was freedom of religious teaching with the exception of catechisms and formulas. The Church of England was a National Church, and claimed to be a National Church, and I say to her, boldly and emphatically, that if she meant to be a National Church, she must assert her nationality. (Applause.)

I am not afraid of the great towns. I believe that in the great towns of England the great victories of the Church may be won. (Applause.) As education advances, it is impossible but that there should be a desire for a refined ministry, for a decent, orderly ritual, for an educated minister dwelling among you, and mixing with you on equal terms. I think you are likely to find these in the Church of England. I think you are likely to find a discipline which will be more suitable—I speak, of course, as a Churchman—as men grow in their education, than in any other sect or in any other denomination. It seems to me that there must necessarily grow up, if there be such a thing as the need of religion in man—and nobody seems to doubt that except those that I have been speaking of before—there must be a springing forth of the heart and mind to the teaching which is suitable for it. And I think the Church of England has within itself such teaching, and will be able to supply it. But she must do it by her own force, by her own power. She will get nothing more from the State: that time is passed away. But she at present keeps what she has from the State. She has that to rely upon as the great ground-work upon which she may go, but she must go beyond that in order to supply the needs of this country. (Applause.) Let no Churchman defend any abuse that may exist. (Applause.) The tax, the only burden which was upon persons who were not Churchmen, has been taken away. There is not a sixpence taken from anyone's hands for the purposes of the Church except that which belongs to the Church. (Applause.) Civil and religious liberty extends freely throughout the country, and the Church stays it in no direction, and puts no hand or impediment in its way. And, therefore, so far as she is concerned, she is doing no wrong to anybody, and she may start with a clear conscience to do good to those who are within her pale, soften, if she can, asperities, put an end to contentions, and endeavour not only to unite Churchmen, but to unite Christians, to meet this formidable—for it is a formidable—attack which Atheism in its various shapes is now making upon religion. (Applause.)

He should not be satisfied till he saw that the Church of England was a life to the State, and that by her combination with the State she was making this people a better, a mightier, and a holier people. The right hon. gentleman, who had spoken more than an hour, resumed his seat amidst loud cheering.

Bishop RYAN seconded the resolution. He believed their duty was to work steadily, seeking to encourage their clergy in discharge of their various responsibilities. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. ST. J. WHEELHOUSE, M.P., moved the third resolution, as follows:—

That with the object of carrying out the foregoing resolution, in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient that a Union of Church Institutes throughout the country should be formed and that every Church of England school in the borough of Bradford should be asked to put itself in union with this institute.

He said he apprehended that really notwithstanding it had been said that night, "We won't despair," there had still been something of that kind permeating the remarks of previous speakers. Looking at the meeting before him, he could not imagine that in Bradford there was the slightest reason for despair or even of fear.

The Rev. J. EDDOWES, in seconding the resolution, said that the Liberation Society and the political Dissenters very much resembled the cuckoo, the peculiarity of which was that it was either too idle, too indifferent, or too selfish to build a nest for itself—(loud cheering)—and liked to turn other birds out of their nest and occupy it. (Cheers.) After expressing his confidence that such attacks on the Church would fail, Mr. Eddowes proceeded to discuss the Education Act. He deplored its excluding the teaching of distinctive creeds and formularies, but believed that the Act might still be made productive of good, so as to tend to a result expressed in a motto he once saw over the door of a national school:—

God prosper long this public good,  
A school erected where a chapel stood.

(Loud cheers and laughter.)

A vote of thanks to Mr. Hardy was moved by the Mayor, seconded by the Rev. H. Leach, and carried with acclamation.

#### STATE-CHURCH MEETING AT EXETER.

The Devonshire Church Institution, as described by its honorary secretaries, is "an Association of Clergy and Laity for defensive and general purposes to combine, as far as possible, Churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the maintenance of the Established Church and its rights and privileges in relation to the State." Its main object, however, appears to be to set up an antagonism to the Liberation Society, and to prevent "Church property" being appropriated to secular uses. A meeting to promote the objects of the society was held at Exeter on Tuesday, Nov. 15. The Earl of Devon occupied the chair, and there was a numerous attendance of the clergy and others. Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P., wrote apologising for his absence, and said:—

Believing as I do that there is still a fair hope of maintaining the connection between the Church and the State in England on terms advantageous to both, I cordially sympathise with those who are labouring to counteract the misrepresentations and to meet the attacks of the opponents of that connection—attacks which appear likely to be renewed with increased vigour at an early opportunity. I wish much that the Church's case could be fairly put before the people in a simple form, and in a temperate spirit, without disguising the real difficulties of her position or ignoring the real claims of those who dissent from her communion. I

have a strong conviction that if the people would look at the question as a whole, they would by a very large majority indeed desire to uphold the Establishment. It is not for our advantage that we should be driven to fight upon questions of detail, upon which we are sometimes not agreed among ourselves, and to fight under circumstances which often place us in the dilemma of having either to magnify points of mere expediency into points of principle, or to make concessions which give an expression of weakness and irresolution. I for one shall hail the broader issue which some of our opponents are beginning to raise.

A letter was also read from Mr. Matthew Arnold, who expressed a strong conviction that, if the cause of the Church Establishment was to be successfully fought, it must be fought by the laity. No one desired more fully and unreservedly to uphold the connection between the Church and State than he did, and he sincerely hoped that the result of that meeting would be to further the cause. Mr. Kekewich also entirely approved of the object of the meeting. Sir Lawrence Palk, writing from a distant part of England, said that, looking at the hostility shown towards the Church by the Nonconformists, and looking at the notices given by some of them in Parliament, he should have been glad to attend the meeting, because he thought it was the duty of every true Churchman to support the Devonshire Church Institution. Lord Sidmouth was prevented attending the meeting by the necessity he was under to leave England for the sake of the health of certain members of his family. Similar letters had been received from Sir Massey Lopes, M.P., the Hon. Mark Rolle, and a number of Church dignitaries.

The CHAIRMAN said he should not be supposed to be actuated by any disposition to underrate or disparage the zealous and conscientious services rendered by the Nonconformist communities, if he said that, instead of working in their own circle, some of them at least had assumed a hostile attitude towards the Church of England, and that the time had arrived when, with all courtesy to Dissenters, and with every disposition to recognise their merits, there was reason for Churchmen to place themselves on the defensive, and struggle to maintain, as he believed they would successfully maintain, the old institutions of this country. (Cheers.) What was the institution which was now threatened? From the notices given in Parliament, they saw that the Nonconformist party, or, at least, a considerable portion of that party, were now directing their efforts to the severance of the connection of the Church and State, and the withdrawal, for secular purposes, of the property which the Church had enjoyed for a period, longer, probably, than that in which property had been held by the family of any individual proprietor—and given to the Church for objects and uses which it had by no means entirely failed to fulfil. (Cheers.) He had never heard that the Church of England had objected to the endowments which the piety of their ancestors had placed in the hands of the Nonconformist communities. (Hear, hear.) Churchmen would not think of objecting to the continued application of those endowments to the purpose for which their founders intended them. All that Churchmen claimed was fair and equal justice to themselves, and while the Church was in possession of large property conferred on it in early times—in very early times, indeed—for the purpose of promoting the spiritual instruction of the people, and while it still discharged its duty, it should not be deprived of that property, and the opportunities thus afforded to the poorer classes of the community to enjoy religious instruction and consultation free of cost should not be withdrawn. (Cheers.) The question which they would have to consider in the coming session, or, certainly, in the course of a few years, was this—Were Englishmen prepared to give up the benefit which they had hitherto enjoyed through the connection of Church and State—the maintenance by the State of the endowments attached to the Church? He (the noble earl) was very much mistaken, if, when the people of England came to look narrowly into the history of Church property—when they came to appreciate the mode in which it had been used—to appreciate, while admitting necessary reforms, the mode in which it might yet be effectively used for the good of the community—if the British people did not, by a large majority, say—"This is an institution that has worked well hitherto; it is an institution that tends still to work well, more especially for the benefit of the poor, and we will not let it go to the ground if we can help it." (Cheers.) But he did not wish to be misunderstood. Even if it should please the Legislature to take away its temporal advantages, the Church would still continue to exist as the channel of spiritual life to all eternity. (Applause.) It was, therefore, for the sake of the State, for the sake of the whole community, that he advocated the constitution in Church and State.

The HIGH SHERIFF moved the first resolution—

That this meeting is of opinion that the times demand the serious attention and hearty union of Churchmen of all shades of political and religious opinion in defence of their common rights.

Their motto was, he said, "Defence, not Defiance." They would remember that not long since the disestablishment and disendowment of that branch of the Church established in Ireland was accomplished and its revenues were confiscated. And now, if we looked at the features of the times, we should also see that the Church of England was threatened, and a direct attack was commenced against her. Mr. Miall had given notice to this effect:—"A Committee of the whole House for the purpose of laying before it resolutions preliminary to the extension of the Church of England of the policy of disestablishment and disendowment carried into effect by the Irish Church Act of 1869." Now, there was no doubt about this, for plainly Mr. Miall intended to move the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church and the con-



fiscation of its revenues. This the association wished to prevent. (Applause.) He would venture to urge all parties—if any existed—who might have any particular fancies about any particular doctrine or religious ceremony in the Church, to waive all those little fancies of their own, and join hand in hand, put shoulder to shoulder, and stand up in maintenance of our National Church.

Prebendary HARRIS, in seconding the resolution, said that the Church of England had done a good work, and would accomplish still more. But there was much heathenism in the land—districts where men had nothing of Christianity except the name, and every sort of heathenism except the excuse. This heathenism was moreover not confined to one class, and he said it without fear of contradiction that it rested with the Established Church to carry out the work which it had been so long engaged upon. And here was shown the necessity of the endowments of the Church, for these places were places where voluntarism could not act—nay, could not live. The work must be carried out by the Church with its great endowments, and which Church must live at home, as it were. Take away the establishment, and take away its endowments, and then they would be driven in upon themselves, and in that event missionary efforts would be paralysed.

Mr. KENNAWAY, M.P., moved the next resolution:—

That this meeting hail with much satisfaction the formation of the Devonshire Church Institution, as well qualified to promote such union, and therefore deserving the cordial support of all Churchmen.

He thought they might well call on their opponents to say what the Church of England had done, what crime she had committed, that should induce them to attempt to stay the high and holy mission which she was now carrying on. (Cheers.) What had she done, and what agency did they look upon to take her place, and what element of civilisation could be looked for to do the work she was doing so well? These questions must be answered, and answered in a satisfactory way, he was bold to assert, before the knell of the Church of England was sounded. (Applause.)

Archdeacon FREEMAN seconded the resolution, and in doing so showed that the Church of England combined the two essential principles which kept a great system going—legal protection and voluntary work. As an instance of the benefit of the latter, he said that during the last fifty years the Church of England had contributed towards new churches, endowments for the clergy of the poor man's church, &c., no less than seventy-five millions of pounds, and this large sum had been voluntarily given. (Applause.) The Church of England was the only Church to keep off the aggressions of the Church of Rome; and if the Church of England were disestablished, what bulwark, he asked, would they have against the aggressions of the Church of Rome? (Applause.)

An influential committee was appointed to carry out the objects of the Institution.

The Mayor of Exeter, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Earl of Devon, said he rejoiced they were throwing off their apathy. That Institution would also promote unity, and it was very important that party differences should be sunk and that all should unite against the common foe. (Applause.)

#### METROPOLITAN CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Notice has been given for the next committee meeting of the Metropolitan Conservative Association, "to call attention to the agitation commenced, and the misstatements put forth by the 'Liberation Society,' upon the question of union between Church and State; and to move a resolution thereon." Mr. T. W. Charley, M.P., will be in the chair.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRIALS.

The arguments in the Voysey case were brought to a close before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the 15th. In concluding his defence, Mr. Voysey said he only pleaded for freedom of speech on points which had either been left open questions by Parliament, or which were treated as such by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a large proportion, perhaps a large majority, of the clergy of the Church of England. The Lord Chancellor said that they would not call upon the counsel for the respondent to go over all the arguments which had been advanced by the appellant, excepting in so far as he might wish to refer to any points upon which the appellant may have touched. The Solicitor-General made a few observations of a general character, maintaining that Mr. Voysey ought to have adhered to the doctrines laid down in the formularies of the Church to which he professed to belong, and the Lord Chancellor then said that their Lordships would take time to consider their decision.

The Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborn, has again been cited before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for having disobeyed a monition of that august body. The reverend gentleman is charged with kneeling or prostration before the consecrated elements during the prayer of consecration, and with elevating the cup and paten above his head during the administration of Holy Communion. Mr. Mackonochie, by affidavit, denies the charges. Mr. Archibald cross-examined Mr. Mackonochie, who admitted that he bowed over the holy table, and raised the wafer and cup; but he denied bending the knee. Mr. Archibald addressed the committee, contending that there had been an evasion of the monition. At the close of the hearing the Committee intimated that they reserved judgment.

The Brighton Ritual case has been before the Judicial Committee for several days. The Rev. John Purchas declined to be present on account of the

state of his health and his dislike to a theological contest in a law court. On Monday Dr. Stephens concluded his address for the prosecution, and was followed by Dr. Tristram on the same side, their object being to obtain a reversal of those portions of the judgment of the Dean of Arches favourable to Mr. Purchas. Their Lordships reserved judgment.

#### "THE UNCOVENANTED MERCIES OF GOD."

The following letter from "Fairplay" appears in the *Bradford Observer*:—"Mr. Gathorne Hardy met the speech and arguments of Mr. Miall in a spirit so generally fair and kindly that I cannot but think he will thank me for pointing out how, by a misquotation and misunderstanding, he did that gentleman an injustice (unintentional, I have no doubt) in one point. Your correspondent 'Churchman,' in his temperate letter to-day, has fallen into exactly the same blunder. Mr. Hardy quotes Mr. Miall thus from 'a paper which had been sent to him':—'The Church of England is not the Church of the poor, but the poor, in their language, are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God.' He adds that the statement shocked him, and challenges Mr. Miall or any one else to point out, in any writing, in any speech, in any place, the application of those terms, 'the uncovenanted mercies of God' to the poor. Now, your own report of Mr. Miall's words is slightly different from that quoted by Mr. Hardy, and the difference, though slight, is important. Your report says, 'while the poor are left, to use their own language, to the uncovenanted mercies of God.' Mr. Miall meant—I who heard him understood him so, and I will be bound to say every one of his hearers did so too,—the poor are left, as I contend, to what the Church calls, in relation to quite another matter, 'the uncovenanted mercies of God.' He borrowed the phrase, not the sentiment, from the Church Prayer-book. He did not for a moment mean to say the Church professed so to leave the poor, and will be truly sorry to find that, partly through misreporting, he has thus been misunderstood."

#### PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

A remarkable pamphlet has been issued by Lord Acton, addressed, in German, to one of the German prelates who during the late Council was so active in resisting the infallibility decree. His object is plainly to remind them all of the language they held six months ago about the dogma of infallibility—the opposition to which they led—and to reproach them with their tame submission ever since it was mooted. He tells us that the fathers of the Council who voted and spoke against the dogma won thereby the reverence of the Catholic world; and he asserts that the educated and thoughtful laity were ready, after the Council closed, to cast in their future lot with the resisting and protesting prelates. The laity will, however, only be true to the liberal bishops, if they be true to themselves; and they cannot honestly reconcile submission with their own past speeches. One foresaw "the grievous ruin wherewith it (the dogma) threatened souls"; another pronounced it to be "suicide of the Church"; a third considered that "civil Governments could no longer trust the loyalty of their Catholic subjects." An Irish bishop used more trenchant language still—"It would be regarded as an unheard-of novelty; the doctrine of the Church would be regarded as changed and falsified; the authority of the Pope and of Ecumenical Councils would perish together; and a frightful infidelity would reign as regards the truth of the Christian religion." The doctrine was absurd; it was a war upon antiquity; it would perjure some of them to accept it; it was not of faith, and could not become so by any definition of a Council. The question put by Lord Acton is, therefore, a very natural one. What are these prelates doing? Some have actually submitted, and published the edict. None has come to the front to lead a resolute opposition.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* has a piece of information regarding the conflict of the Bonn University with the Infallibilist dignitaries of so strange a nature that we must await further confirmation before we yield to our amazement. It is to the effect that the Government will not only refrain from annulling the dismissals and suspensions decreed by the Catholic authorities, but will fully confirm the same. It seems even that the Minister of Public Education has gone a step further. He is reported to have in private letters expressed to the protesting professors his dissatisfaction with their opposition. What has been done in Bonn with his sanction be repeated not only in all the universities, but even in the gymnasiums. All Catholic teachers who will not express their full submission to the new dogma are, one after the other, to be dismissed from their posts. If this is true, it would be a most extraordinary step on the part of the Protestant Minister of Prussia; but we must not forget after all that it is His Excellency von Muhler who still presides over that department of the "Cultus," and anything is possible under such auspices. Indeed, we could almost hope the tale to be true; that would fill his cup. In spite of the war and unity, the Prussian Parliament would hardly brook a public functionary who had added this to his many other mischievous measures.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Dr. Plumtre, Master of University College, Oxford, died on Monday after a brief illness. He had held the mastership for thirty-four years. Dr. Plumtre was seventy-six years of age, and was highly esteemed throughout the University.

The *John Bull* states that some days ago the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol inhibited a layman (Mr. Thomas M. Croome, of Stroud) from preaching

in the parish church of Ashchurch on the invitation of the Rev. H. S. Warleigh, the rector.

The election of a gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion (Mr. D. Hanley) to the office of Mayor of Oxford is an event unprecedented in the annals of that ancient city since the Reformation. The new sheriff (Mr. Eaglestone) is a Nonconformist.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is to spend the winter in Italy, in order that his recovery, which has continued without interruption, may not run the risk of retardment by the cold weather. His Grace yesterday left Dover for Italy, via Ostend and Munich, and will reside at San Remo.

THE NEW BISHOP OF MADAGASCAR.—The *English Independent*, in an article on Mr. Baynes's acceptance of the Madagascar bishopric, says:—"The Church Missionary Society, which has two or three stations in the island, distinctly repudiates this scheme of a bishopric, and if Mr. Baynes does go out, these missionaries will not acknowledge his authority. The only missions which Mr. Baynes will really have to 'bishop' are two or three stations on the east coast belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

THE SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY.—The publication of the Speaker's Commentary is expected to take place early in January. The first volume was exhibited to the leading booksellers of London at Mr. Murray's annual trade sale dinner last week, when nearly 3,000 copies were subscribed for. It forms a handsome volume of 800 pages, with explanatory and critical notes, and, where necessary, a revision of the translation, correcting all ascertained errors, and to mark this distinctly every corrected passage or word is printed in a special type.—*John Bull*.

SYMPATHY WITH THE POPE.—A protest against the occupation of Rome by the Italians, and denouncing it as an act of "unjustifiable spoliation," has been signed by the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., and Lords Bute, Denbigh, Gainsborough, Kenmare, Beaumont, Stourton, Petre, Arundell of Wardour, Stafford, Herries, Lovat, Howard of Glossop, Campden, and Walter Kerr, as well as by the great body of the Catholic gentry. In Ireland the Roman Catholic demonstrations continue. At Killarney resolutions were passed denouncing the conduct of Victor Emmanuel, urging the Government to refuse to recognise the act of spoliation, and to use its influence to protect the rights of the Sovereign Pontiff, and calling on their representatives, in the event of refusal, to withdraw their support from the Ministry.

TAKING THE WHITE VEIL.—Archbishop Manning officiated on Saturday afternoon at the reception of a nun of the Sisterhood of Mercy, in the church connected with the Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth, in Great Ormond-street. The church was illuminated by long lines of light, and the altars were richly decorated. At the appointed time all the sisters entered the church in procession, each holding a large lighted candle. The postulant was led in by the superioress, and knelt at the altar. A hymn was then sung by the choir, and some prayers were recited by the Archbishop, after which he preached a short sermon. A collection was then made for the hospital, and the postulant retired to change her worldly dress for that of a nun. On her return to the church the Archbishop held the white veil over her head, and the superioress placed it on her. Some more hymns and psalms were then sung by the choir, and the ceremonies terminated with the rite known as "Benediction."

#### Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. Percy Strutt, late of Spalding, has accepted a unanimous invitation to become the pastor of the Congregational Church, Greville-place, Kilburn.

The Rev. W. H. Drewett has resigned the charge of the Congregational Church, Bognor, after a pastorate of four years and a-half, during which period the congregation has largely increased and a new and commodious chapel has been erected.

The Rev. S. D. Hillman, pastor of the Congregational Church, Luddenden Foot, near Halifax, has received and accepted an invitation to become pastor of the New Congregational Church, Ilkley, and will enter on his new sphere of labour on the second Lord's day in 1871.

RECOGNITIONS.—There have been recognition services recently in connection with the settlements of the Rev. O. Knibbs at Stonehouse Independent Chapel; of the Rev. Thomas Nicholson, over the Congregational Chapel, Providence-place, Cleckheaton; and of the Rev. W. M. Beeby over the Congregational Church, Newcastle-under-Lyne.

POOLE.—The newly-elected Mayor of Poole, Dorset, Joseph Harker, Esq., attended by the Corporation, went in procession to the Congregational Church on Sunday morning last, Nov. 20. The Rev. Thos. Orr, pastor of the church, preached an appropriate sermon from Matt. viii. 10. Considerable interest was excited in the town, it being the first occasion on which the Mayor and Corporation have attended a Nonconformist church.

CITY CONFERENCE.—At fourteen of the City churches sermons were preached on Sunday last on lay help in Church work, while the attention of City men was called in most of the other churches to a conference of clergy and laity to be held at Sion College, London-wall, on Friday evening next, under the auspices of the Bishop of London's Lay Helpers' Association, to consider how best to induce men to devote a small portion of leisure time weekly to Church work, and how best to make that work most useful to themselves and to the Church.

WORSLEY.—On Wednesday evening, Nov. 2, a new Congregational school-chapel was opened at



Worsley, near Manchester, when a sermon was preached by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., of London. The chapel is situate on the high road between Worsley and Swinton, and is in the Gothic style of architecture. At the back of the chapel there is a general school-room, forty-five feet by eighteen feet; and an infants' class-room, twenty-four feet by eighteen feet, with accommodation for about 400 scholars. The cost is about 1,350*l.*, towards which upwards of 1,200*l.* is promised. The architects are Messrs. Corson and Aitken, of Manchester. This chapel is the result of an effort begun about eighty years since in the immediate neighbourhood, a congregation having been gathered together in a room of the mill of Messrs. John Gibb and Son, kindly lent by them. It has been made one of the Evangelistic stations of the Lancashire Congregational Union, the Rev. Peter Webster being the Evangelist. Sufficient land has been purchased to allow a large chapel being also erected, which, it is hoped, will be needed in the course of years, when the present structure will be used as the school.

**GENERAL BAPTIST CONFERENCE IN NOTTINGHAM.**—A conference of Baptists of the Midland district was held on Wednesday at George-street Chapel, Nottingham. The Rev. Harris Craasweller, of Derby, presided, and gave an introductory address, choosing for his subject, "Christian Unity." He argued that the hindrances to that unity were mainly two. One was the tendency to confound theology with truth. He by no means deprecated the study of theology, but he did say that very much of its worth depended upon the acknowledgment of its incompleteness. The other hindrance was the defectiveness of the individual Christian life. The Rev. H. M. Foote, of Nottingham, read a paper on "Christians outside the Church." The rev. gentleman said that the keeping of Christians outside the church was partly the fault of the church and partly of the outsiders themselves. The fault of the church was its exclusiveness. Another reason why Christians kept outside of the church was their desire to see the manifest advantage of being united with the church. The latter ought, therefore, to make it manifest how good it was for brethren to dwell together in unity. The paper then adverted to other causes which kept many Christians outside the Church, and urged them (the hearers) to do their duty and wait with patience the blessings of obedience. Dr. Underwood proposed, and the Rev. Mr. McDougall, of Lincoln, seconded, a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper, and a discussion followed. In the afternoon there was a meeting of delegates for business, and in the evening Divine service was held. The afternoon meeting was held for the purpose of forming a Baptist Conference for the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stafford; also for making rules for the government of that body. After some discussion it was arranged that the next annual meeting should be held at Derby.

**REGENT'S-PARK COLLEGE.**—At the annual meeting of the Baptist College, Regent's-park, last week, Mr. Thomas Chambers, M.P., in the chair, Dr. Angus stated that forty-one students had attended the classes during the session, of whom thirty-six had been resident. Six ministerial students had left the college for various spheres of labour. Nine lay students had also left. To supply these vacancies ten ministerial students had been selected from fourteen applications. Four lay students have also entered the college, some of whom also hope to give themselves to the ministry. The examiners' reports were very satisfactory. The prize of ten guineas, given by Mr. J. R. Jeffrey, of Liverpool, for the encouragement of attention to reading and elocution, was awarded to Mr. H. S. Ficks and Mr. John Bailey. The committee announce that Mr. Joseph Gurney, the treasurer, has resolved to offer yearly two prizes of books, worth six and four guineas respectively, to the two students who shall show the best knowledge of sacred Scripture. The financial state of the college is not so favourable as last year. The balance due to the treasurer in October, 1869, was 40*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*; that balance is now 113*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*—an increase of 73*l.* during the year. This deficiency is owing partly to the diminution of subscriptions, several friends having died during the year; partly to the diminished amount received from friends of students; partly to the increased cost of living. The committee acknowledge a donation of 200*l.* from the family of their late friend, George Gould, of Loughton. This sum the committee have resolved to invest, that the interest may continue to connect with the college the name of one they have so long known and loved. Mr. Chambers urged the growing necessity for an educated ministry, and pleaded for liberal support for this most excellent institution. The Revs. C. Graham, H. C. Leonard, Dr. Weymouth, and Mr. John Rains moved and seconded various votes of thanks.

**LORD DUFFERIN ON LADY DOCTORS.**—At the opening of a Ladies' Institute in Belfast, Lord Dufferin said:—"Some months ago I had the pleasure of receiving a visit from a lady doctor. I asked through what circumstances she was first led to engage in the profession. She told me she was the wife of a China merchant, that during her husband's stay in China she found time hang heavily on her hands, and she took the advantage of some clinical lectures in the neighbourhood to attend them. Some time afterwards, through the pecuniary difficulties of her husband, she found it necessary to earn her own livelihood, and she then perfected her education and embarked in practice. In her new profession she nearly quadrupled that which she would have received as a well-paid governess."

### THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The following is Earl Granville's reply to the circular of Prince Gortschakoff:—

EARL GRANVILLE TO SIR R. BUCHANAN.

Foreign Office, Nov. 10.

Sir,—Baron Brunnow made to me yesterday the communication respecting the convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan limiting their naval forces in the Black Sea, signed at Paris on the 30th March, 1856, to which you allude in your telegram of yesterday afternoon.

In my despatch of yesterday I gave you an account of what passed between us, and I now propose to observe upon Prince Gortschakoff's despatches of the 19th and 20th ultimo, communicated to me by the Russian Ambassador on that occasion.

Prince Gortschakoff declares, on the part of His Imperial Majesty, that the Treaty of 1856 has been infringed in various respects to the prejudice of Russia, and more especially in the case of the Principalities, against the explicit protest of his representative, and that, in consequence of these infractions, Russia is entitled to renounce those stipulations of the treaty which directly touch her interests.

It is then announced that she will no longer be bound by the treaties which restrict her rights of sovereignty in the Black Sea.

We have here an allegation that certain facts have occurred which, in the judgment of Russia, are at variance with certain stipulations of the treaty, and the assumption is made that Russia, upon the strength of her own judgment as to the character of those facts, is entitled to release herself from certain other stipulations of that instrument.

This assumption is limited in its practical application to some of the provisions of the treaty, but the assumption of a right to renounce any one of its terms involves the assumption of a right to renounce the whole.

This statement is wholly independent of the reasonableness or unreasonableness, on its own merits, of the desire of Russia to be released from the observation of the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856 respecting the Black Sea.

For the question is, in whose hands lies the power of releasing one or more of the parties from all or any of these stipulations.

It has always been held that that right belongs only to the Governments who have been parties to the original instrument.

The despatches of Prince Gortschakoff appear to assume that any one of the Powers who have signed the engagement may allege that occurrences have taken place which, in its opinion, are at variance with the provisions of the treaty; and, although this view is not shared nor admitted by the co-signatory Powers, may found upon that allegation, not a request to those Governments for the consideration of the case, but an announcement to them that it has emancipated itself, or holds itself emancipated, from any stipulations of the treaty which it thinks fit to disapprove. Yet it is quite evident that the effect of such doctrine, and of any proceeding which, with or without avowal, is founded upon it, is to bring the entire authority and efficacy of treaties under the discretionary control of each one of the Powers who may have signed them; the result of which would be the entire destruction of treaties in their essence. For whereas their whole object is to bind Powers to one another, and for this purpose each one of the parties surrenders a portion of its free agency, by the doctrine and proceeding now in question, one of the parties in its separate and individual capacity brings back the entire subject into its own control, and remains bound only to itself.

Accordingly, Prince Gortschakoff has announced in these despatches the intention of Russia to continue to observe certain of the provisions of the treaty. However satisfactory this may be in itself, it is obviously an expression of the free will of that Power which it might at any time alter or withdraw; and in this it is thus open to the same objections as the other portions of the communication, because it implies the right of Russia to annul the treaty on the ground of allegations of which she constitutes herself the only judge.

The question therefore arises, not whether any desire expressed by Russia ought to be carefully examined in a friendly spirit by the co-signatory Powers, but whether they are to accept from her the announcement that, by her own act, without any consent from them, she has released herself from a solemn covenant.

I need scarcely say that Her Majesty's Government have received this communication with deep regret, because it opens a discussion which might unsettle the cordial understanding it has been their earnest endeavour to maintain with the Russian Empire; and, for the above-mentioned reasons, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to give any sanction on their part, to the course announced by Prince Gortschakoff.

If, instead of such a declaration, the Russian Government had addressed Her Majesty's Government and the other Powers who are parties to the Treaty of 1856, and had proposed for consideration with them whether anything has occurred which could be held to amount to an infraction of the treaty, or whether there is anything in the terms which, from altered circumstances, presses with undue severity upon Russia, or which, in the course of events, had become unnecessary for the due protection of Turkey, Her Majesty's Government would not have refused to examine the question in concert with the co-signatories to the treaty. Whatever might have been the result of such communications, a risk of future complications and a very dangerous precedent as to the validity of international obligations would have been avoided.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

P.S.—You will read and give a copy of this despatch to Prince Gortschakoff.

The despatch from Prince Gortschakoff to Baron Brunnow of the 20th ult., referred to in the second paragraph of Lord Granville's despatch of the 10th inst., has been published. It refers to the acknow-

ledgment by Earl Russell, in 1866, that any infringement of the letter and spirit of the treaty must result in the revision of that engagement. Though the eventualities then contemplated have not been realised, Earl Granville will not dispute that this treaty has suffered serious modifications in one of its principal provisions. What most seriously touches Russia is not the fictitious hostility towards herself which characterise these modifications. It is not the consequences which may result to a great country from the formation of a small quasi-independent state on her frontiers; it is, above all, the facility with which a solemn treaty, invested with a European sanction, may, ten years after its conclusion, be infringed in letter and spirit under the eyes of the Powers which ought to be its guardians. In the face of such a precedent, what value can Russia attach to the efficiency of this engagement, and to the pledge of security which she believed was contained in the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea? The equilibrium established in the East by the Treaty of 1856 is destroyed to the prejudice of Russia. The resolution taken by our august master has no object but to re-establish it. But what it concerns us to show is that this decision implies no change in the policy which His Majesty the Emperor pursues in the East. We have shown that it is not now from England or from Russia that the dangers which may threaten the Ottoman Empire will arise; that the two Cabinets have an equal desire to maintain its existence as long as possible by appeasing and reconciling the differences between the Porte and the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and that in case a decisive crisis should occur in spite of all their efforts, they are equally determined to seek, above all, the solution in a general agreement of the great Powers of Europe.

The following will, to some extent, indicate the tendency of opinion in the United States on the Eastern question. The *New York Tribune* says:—"Prince Gortschakoff's talk of successive violations of the Treaty of Paris by other parties to it is simply an able statesman's laborious and skilful assignment of a pretext for an act to which these violations were evidently in no respect an incitement, and for which they cannot serve as justification. The most glaringly exceptional feature of Russia's demonstration is its abruptness. She does not even demand, she simply takes. Submission on the part of England would be a confession of weakness equivalent to the abdication of all future influence and all moral weight in the politics of the continent. Yet England may well pause in view of the weakness of her prospective allies." The *New York Times* says:—"War will lead at first to a decline in American securities and a loss to the Cotton States, but the export of grain and the carrying trade of the United States will be immediately stimulated." The *New York World* believes that the angry feeling excited by Gortschakoff's circular will fume itself away in popular protest and diplomatic demonstrations. The *New York Herald* says:—"Prince Gortschakoff claims the faithful fulfilment of the letter of the treaty, and throws open the doors for an immediate Congress of the signatory Powers. England must accede at once, or, having already incurred the displeasure of France, Prussia, and America, must occupy the position of a recusant who will give no redress, and thereby invites war."

Mr. J. S. Mill has expressed an opinion, which he believes to be shared by multitudes of his countrymen, that for England to let herself be drawn into war by the declaration of Russia concerning the Treaty of 1856 would be "nothing less than monstrous." He maintains that the honour of England is not concerned either in the protection of Turkey or the humiliation of Russia, and before going to war for the maintenance of the treaty it behoves the nation to consider whether it would enter into it afresh at the present day. Mr. J. A. Froude, without defending Prince Gortschakoff's note, the manner of which, he says, is so studiously offensive that it looks as if Russia had calculated the chances, and desired either publicly to humiliate us or to provoke a collision, nevertheless contends that great nations have no right to appeal to the ordeal of battle for a fault of manner, which is the extent of Russia's offence so far.

The *Spectator* gives currency to a rumour that immediately on the receipt of the Russian note, orders were issued to complete the armament of Malta and Gibraltar, to warn the Indian Government to increase the complement of sailors, and to hasten the supply of breechloaders to the Militia and Volunteers. It adds that a portion of the Channel Fleet is to be sent to the Mediterranean, and that the number of ships in commission is to be largely increased.

Now that the exact wording of the Russian note has been published, the vast majority of the Berlin papers (so the Prussian correspondent of the *Times* informs us) agree in considering it a most objectionable, and, indeed, unprecedented document. Not that they are astonished at Russia's moving for the repeal of a compact which all the Powers have all along tacitly permitted her to ignore, and which some have actually offered to use their influence in formally abolishing. It is well known that, notwithstanding the prohibition, Russia has been suffered to construct the fortress of Kertch, on the Sea of Azof, and make it a more formidable place than Sebastopol ever was; it is equally notorious that the vessels of the Black Sea Navigation Company have been so constructed as to admit of being converted into men-of-war at the shortest possible notice; but if the Powers chose to wink at these proceedings in the



interests of peace, this, it is maintained in the Berlin press, does not entitle Russia to claim as a right what, from considerations of a higher nature, may have so long been conceded as a favour. Again, it is quite true that at one time Count Beust offered to purchase Russia's assistance against Germany by contributing to do away with the objectionable treaties, and that he saw so little to conceal in this act that he caused his notes on the subject, dated Jan. 1, Jan. 22, and Feb. 3, 1867, to be publicly printed; nor is it less certain that General Fleury, on behalf of the Emperor Napoleon, approached the Russian Court with the like overtures in 1869 and 1870. Yet, although Russia may have derived encouragement from this, it does not legally enable her, by an arbitrary act, to declare the whole treaty null and void. The writer adds—"Little desirous as people are of breaking with Russia at a moment when they have their hands full in France, they are yet pretty unanimous in wishing the St. Petersburg Cabinet to make amends for its provoking conduct, and acknowledge that a contract can be cancelled only with the common consent of all parties. From declarations made here, it is hoped that Russia will herself perceive the expediency of obtaining the sanction of the Powers to her one-sided proceedings, and that if any propositions are made here with a view to this end, she will meet them in a conciliatory spirit."

Karl Blind advocates in the German press an energetic resistance to Russia in the interests of European security.

### THE PANIC CRY FOR MORE ARMAMENTS.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

BY HENRY RICHARD, M.P.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—It was not without good reason that Lord Derby, speaking three months ago, in reference to the outbreak of the miserable war now raging on the continent, gave us this admonition:—"It does not follow, because some of our neighbours have chosen to run mad, that we are to run mad also, and talk as if we were about to act under the influence of panic or passion." The nation itself certainly cannot be charged with acting under the influence of panic or passion. But certain parties amongst us, who take upon themselves to advise us in these matters, are doing their best to bring about this madness.

It is the custom of the military class in this country to take advantage of any warlike event, or even any political commotion, in Europe, however little it may concern us, to get up a panic, and to clamour for more armaments. They are doing so now. The papers are filled with articles and letters written or inspired by officers in the army, the militia, or the volunteers, containing the wildest schemes and suggestions on this subject. We must so increase our army as to be able to cope with the great military powers of the continent. We must at least double our artillery. We must introduce the conscription into the militia. We must change the volunteer into a compulsory service. We must fortify our ports and principal cities. We must oblige all our male population to become soldiers, as they do in Prussia, and so on, and on, in an almost infinite series of proposals, each one more extreme than the other. It is true, that these counsellors do not agree among themselves; on the contrary, there is a perfect Babel of conflicting voices among them; but through them all there runs this one idea—Deliver the people of England, their persons, their purses, and their liberties into our hands, to be dealt with as we please, until the whole country is converted into a camp, and the one great business of life shall be, to learn to fight.

And this is done, countrymen, at a time when, through the influence of this very military class, two of the greatest nations of Europe have been brought into the fearful condition in which we now see them.

For what are the lessons which the present war distinctly teaches, if not these—that enormous military preparations, so far from preserving peace, as these people pretend, lead inevitably to war. That to surrender their destinies into the hands of military counsellors is the greatest folly that nations can commit. That, so long as peoples are content to let themselves be used as tools by the soldier class, to work out the ambitious purposes of rulers, they are not better than slaves whose wealth, and blood, and bravery are held in pawn for other objects than their own well-being?

How did this war originate? Not in hostility between the two great nations that have been hurled into the work of mutual ruin. Whatever jealousies existed between them were produced and fomented by the military class on both sides—their preparations, their boasts, their threats, their intrigues. No one will pretend to say that the people on either side wanted a war. The German people are not suspected or accused of having desired it. And nothing is more certain than that the overwhelming majority of the French people were opposed to the war. This is proved by what took place at the election of 1869, where every candidate sought the suffrages of the multitude by promising a large reduction of armaments—by the plebiscite of 1870, which was distinctly a plebiscite of peace—by the reports, wholly unfavourable to the war, which the Government received from so many of the departments on the very eve of its breaking out, and by the strongly pacific tone of the free press throughout France, so long as they dared to speak out. How, then, did it come to pass? Here are two short extracts from the press,

which throw a flood of light on the inquiry. First as to France:—"On the 12th of July was held that famous Council at the Tuileries, when, nearly all the other French Ministers having declared for peace, Marshal Lebauf struck his fist on the table, and declared he would throw up his post if war were not declared. 'Are you prepared,' asks one of the Cabinet, 'to fight the strongest military power in Europe?' 'Never so well prepared as now, and never shall so well prepared again,' was the reply; and then the Emperor quietly observed that they must have guarantees from Prussia. The die was cast." Second, as to Prussia. Speaking of the gross ignorance of the state of things in Germany which the Emperor of the French had displayed, the writer, one of the correspondents of the *Daily News*, says:—"His military envoy in Berlin must have reported, what was common talk in military circles there, that planning possible campaigns in France was the favourite recreation in military circles. It is a fact, and no secret was made of it, that when Prince Frederick Charles entertained a few soldier friends at dinner, one of the party would set himself to suggest some such plan of campaign, while the others laid themselves out to criticise it." Here is the real spring of the war—the sinister and selfish emulation of the military class in the two countries.

And mark the time at which these military alarmists are trying to force the Government into the wild innovations they demand. There never was a time when there was so little just ground of alarm as respects the safety of this country, as at the present moment. Whence is the danger to arise, against which we are to guard by a sudden and extravagant development of our war forces? The military power of France—the old bugbear usually employed as a pretext for emptying our pockets—has surely been effectually crippled for one while at least. Or do these people really imagine that France, crushed by defeat, exhausted by the supernatural effort she is making to save her national existence, overwhelmed by debt, will be in a mood or in a condition to attempt an unprovoked attack on England. But then, we are told, there is Prussia. But, in the name of common sense, what have we to apprehend from Prussia? What possible motive can the Germans have for invading or attacking England? And if they were ever so hostilely disposed towards this country, how can they get at us? They are not a maritime Power, and have no navy of the slightest importance, nor are they likely to have for many years to come. And if they had, what is to become of our own navy, upon which we have spent such uncounted millions for the last twenty years? It is very curious that those who loudly demand the most lavish expenditure on the navy treat that navy as of no account in the prospect of any emergency arising when its services would be needed, and speak of the landing of 100,000 enemies on our shores as a thing as easy as if we had no navy at all.

Countrymen, don't let these interested military alarmists frighten you out of your common sense. No extent of military preparation you can offer will satisfy them. Whatever you give them now they will in the course of three or four years hence declare to be worthless or insufficient, and clamour for more. This is always the case with them. Eighteen years ago they asked for the militia, as "the great constitutional reserve force," which alone was necessary to place us in a condition of safety. They had it, but the militia is now declared to be hardly of any value. They then asked for the volunteers, "the great citizen army," under whose protection we might dwell in confidence. They had that also. But now the volunteers were declared to be "a sham army." They asked for fortifications along the coast, especially for the defence of our arsenals. This also was granted them at a cost of we know not how many millions. But now we are assured that those fortifications are of little or no avail. Within the last fifteen years we have spent more than 424 millions sterling on our armaments, and yet at the close of last session of Parliament we were told by naval and military officers in the House of Commons that we had no defences to speak of. Now these statements are true or they are not. If they are true, what on earth is the use of squandering the national treasure so lavishly, when after all, we are told we are defenceless? If they are not true, then the testimony of these alarmists is not trustworthy, and their counsels ought not to be followed.

And let our countrymen beware how they yield to the encroachments of these panic-mongers. They want to introduce the conscription amongst us. But those who are acquainted with the working of this system on the continent, know that it is a system of tyranny so oppressive, especially to the working classes, as to be all but intolerable. And the Prussian plan, which some recommend to the free people of this country, is nothing but a system of universal military despotism. In that country, as soon as a young man attains the age of eighteen, no matter what his rank, calling, or profession, no matter what engagements he may have entered into, no matter what his prospects are in life, he is seized by the law and compelled to enter into military service for seven years. Three he spends in the regular army, where his whole time must be given up to learning the trade of blood. Then he goes into the militia or landwehr for four years, where he is subject to periodical military drill. Then he passes into the landsturm for nine years longer, and he is liable to be called to serve, in case of war, up to fifty years of age. And when that call comes he must obey, wherever he resides. He may be settled in flourishing business, or in a prosperous profession in England or the United States; but the moment war breaks forth he must throw everything up and repair to his company, on pain of being subjected to three years' penal servitude should he ever return to his country; and if he abstains from returning altogether, he becomes an outlaw and forfeits all inheritance of property from his father or other relative. We venture to believe that this is a system of arbitrary rule to which the people of this country will never submit.

Countrymen! the great curse of Europe at this moment is the predominance of the military class. While the people in every country are working in the interests of peace—by commerce and industry and social intercourse getting every day into nearer and kinder relations to each other, these men are for ever planning, and preparing for, and provoking war sowing jealousies and suspicions, creating panics, and trying to hound on the nations to mutual hatred and slaughter. There can be no hope for peace so long as these professional soldiers are allowed to direct the councils of States, and have unlimited power to handle and drill the people into a system of military servitude.

### Postscript.

Wednesday, November 23rd, 1870.

### THE EASTERN QUESTION.

(From the *Daily News*.)

VIENNA, Nov. 22.

The leading journals of this city continue to write in a pacific spirit. The news that Russia has sent a conciliatory answer to England has produced a good impression here.

St. PETERSBURG, Nov. 22.

The municipal authorities of this city unanimously, and with enthusiasm, adopted, yesterday, an address to the Emperor, thanking him for the steps taken by the Government with regard to the Treaty of 1856.

(From the *Daily Telegraph*.)

VIENNA, Nov. 22, 8 p.m.

From Constantinople I have the information that Turkey wishes to avoid a conflict with Russia, and desires that the signatories of the Paris Treaties should consider the demands preferred in Prince Gortschakoff's circular.

The *Presse* supports the judgment of the *Nord* in affirming that Lord Granville's reply to the circular only affects the principle involved, and does not threaten the continuance of peace.

Aali Pasha is said to have proposed a modification of the treaties three months ago.

In Vienna the opinion gains ground that the original suggestion of England—to open the Black Sea to the war ships of all nations—will ultimately prevail.

(Reuter's Telegram.)

St. PETERSBURG, Nov. 22, 6.30 p.m.

A congratulatory address has been presented to the Emperor by the Lithuanian Regiment of the Guards on the occasion of the celebration of its anniversary. His Majesty replied:—"I hope there will not be war. Should, however, Providence will it, I am confident that the Lithuanian regiment will give fresh proofs of its devotion."

### THE WAR.

(From the *Daily News*.)

TOURS, Nov. 22.

Full details have now been received of the victory obtained by Ricciotti Garibaldi at Châtillon.

It appears that Ricciotti Garibaldi's force was composed of 400 men from various companies, and that they attacked Châtillon at six o'clock in the morning. The place was occupied by 750 Germans, who were expecting reinforcements, 1,400 strong, that very day. The Germans were repulsed, leaving 120 killed, among whom were two colonels and one major, as well as 167 prisoners, ten of whom were officers; sixty-two horses and four ammunition wagons were also captured. The losses on the French side were four killed and twelve wounded.

ROYAL HEAD-QUARTERS, VERSAILLES, Nov. 21.

The arrival of Mr. Odo Russell continues to cause much speculation in this place as to his probable mission. He was accompanied by a Prussian officer on the journey through France from Sedan to Versailles, and has been received with the greatest courtesy at head-quarters. There has been no sign of a sortie from Paris during the fog, and now the weather is clear again.

AMIENS, Nov. 22.

The Germans occupy Ham. Skirmishing has taken place near Montdidier. The Germans are reported to be advancing on Amiens. The city is calm, resolute, and ready.

BERLIN, Nov. 22.

Accounts from head-quarters show the dispositions to have been abandoned by which Prince Frederick Charles was to cross the Loire and march on Bourges, getting into the rear of the Loire army. All the German forces are now concentrating on Paris. The investing army is to be covered against all disturbance in the active operations impending by a military semicircle, from Etampes, Chartres, and Dreux, to Evreux and Mantes, with Prince Frederick Charles's army holding the line in the south, Manteuffel in the north, and the Duke of Mecklenburg in the western centre.

### MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Trade at Mark-lane to-day was very quiet, and values had a downward tendency. There was a limited supply of English wheat on sale, but the condition of the samples was improved. The arrivals from abroad were good. There was little inquiry for any descriptions, and sales could only be effected at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per quarter.



## THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

### TO THE RATEPAYERS OF FINSBURY.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—When the Elementary Schools Bill was passing through Committee I asked, in your name, that we might have but one School Board for London, and Parliament acceded to our claims. I proposed that the charge for additional schools should be borne on a common fund, and that the districts where light and luxury abound should contribute according to their wealth, and those where want and darkness prevail according to their poverty. This was also agreed to, because it was felt to be politic and just. I asked for six Education Guardians for Finsbury; and the Committee of Council have acceded to that number. It is now for you to consider whom you will name.

In this matter I am no party man; and this is perhaps the reason why those who differ widely upon other subjects have honoured me with the expression of the wish that, having helped to build this lifeboat for the rescue of our children from the depths, I should be one of its crew. But if so I pray you give me, for comrades, men whose hearts are in the work. The diversity of their early training signifies nothing, if they will but pull together steadily and with a will.

New duties ought not to be undertaken lightly by a public man; but those of the School Board seem to me to lie along the path of others which I am accustomed to perform. A thorough knowledge of the condition of the people is alike indispensable with regard to dwellings and to schools. I have no faith in education that is not fitted to make the home healthier and happier, the child more dutiful, the youth more thoughtful, and the man more temperate and reverent, hopeful and wise.

To this end the law affords every facility for Christian teaching, while it imposes disputed forms and doctrines upon none. It is capable of effecting incalculable good; but its success or failure must depend upon the people.

I am, your faithful servant,

W. M. TORRENS.

Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 1, 1870.

## LONDON SCHOOL BOARD

To the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of MARYLEBONE and the PARISH of ST. JOHN, HAMPSHIRE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I beg respectfully to solicit your Votes and support as a Candidate for the honour of representing your District at the School Board for London.

If elected, I shall enter upon my duties with the sole desire of practically forwarding one of the most beneficent works of modern times, and of devoting to that work the best capabilities I possess. It will be my endeavour loyalty and impartiality—conforming both to the letter and the spirit of the law—to aid in administering the great measure of last Session.

As that measure, however, in effect remits to localities the decision of certain principles, it becomes necessary for Candidates to avow themselves on these points. I may say, then, that I would have national education undenominational and compulsory. I care little about the advancement of this or that abstract set of opinions. I wish simply to get the conditions which will ensure to every child, at a small charge or at none, sound elementary instruction. I am quite in favour of the open Bible being read in all schools, with the safeguards provided by the Act for the children of those who may conscientiously object. In acknowledging the supreme claims of religion, whilst carefully avoiding any denominational bias, we are giving a fair and harmonious interpretation to the intentions and provisions of the Act.

Remunerative, in the best and most patriotic sense, as must be all expenditure incurred in supplying educational wants, it must at the same time be remembered that the ratepayers of the Metropolis are already weighed down by a crushing load of taxation. The London School Board will have to combine the highest efficiency with an economy which, from the first, must be of the most searching character.

I think I may say that I enjoy the confidence and am acquainted with the views of the classes more immediately concerned in the due administration of the Act. We have laboured together in the past to obtain educational legislation; I am satisfied that we shall labour equally together in the future to secure the full fruits of that legislation.

As a resident in your district, I shall always be ready to watch over any local interests which may be involved in the action of the London School Board.

It is my sincere hope that all sects and all parties will cordially unite to seize upon the grand opportunity now before us of reaching and removing that dense mass of ignorance, otherwise so fraught with peril to the social and political life of our common country.

I have the honour to remain, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Your faithful servant,

JOSEPH GUEDELLA.

16, Mincing-lane, E.C., Oct. 24, 1870.

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## The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1870.

### SUMMARY.

WE have passed through a week of great anxiety, which, happily, if not altogether removed, is greatly diminished. The astounding circular of Prince Gortschakoff, announcing that Russia had resolved to be no longer bound

by the Treaty of 1856, that she should place ships of war in the Black Sea, and inviting Turkey to do the same, excited surprise and disquietude throughout Europe. The publication of Prince Gortschakoff's despatch induced our Government to put the public in possession of Earl Granville's reply. It is dated as far back as Nov. 10. His lordship calmly points out the very serious results of a repudiation of treaties, deprecates the complications to which the Russian Note may give rise, but admits that the treaty may reasonably be considered by the signatory Powers with a view to revision. The protest of the British Government in the interests of public law and of solemn treaty engagements, appears to have created an unnecessary panic in our money market. It has been assumed that the imperious despatch from St. Petersburg could not have been sent without the sanction of Prussia—and one or two influential newspapers were so excited as to advocate the sending of a peremptory summons to Count Bismark to disavow complicity with Prince Gortschakoff as the alternative of a declaration of war, and that in case of an unfavourable reply an army of some 50,000 men should be landed at Havre or Cherbourg to co-operate with the French! Last week closed with a variety of alarming reports. We were told that a huge Russian army was concentrated about Odessa; that the Czar had purchased from the United States a fleet of iron-clads, which would soon force the passage of the Dardanelles; that Austria was arming for a terrible conflict; that the Sultan had called out his reserve force; and that the Russian people enthusiastically backed up the new policy of their Emperor.

On Monday, however, there were indications of a change of feeling. A general rise of all securities took place on the Stock Exchange in the belief that peace would be preserved, and upon the recognition of the fact that many other Powers besides Great Britain were parties to the denounced treaty. The hopeful view thus indicated is, we have reason to believe, well grounded. Mr. Odo Russell has been sent to Versailles to ascertain the intentions of King William and his Minister. He is still there, and has been received with much distinction, and has, no doubt, ere this telegraphed the result of his inquiries to Lord Granville. We think we can with confidence offer some explanations which will throw light upon this mysterious crisis. It is not true that Count Bismark was any party to the menacing despatch of Prince Gortschakoff. Probably since the outbreak of the war there has been an understanding that, in consideration of Russian neutrality, Prussia would support a revision of the Treaty of 1856. When Metz surrendered, it seemed as though the Franco-German war were virtually at an end. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, distrustful of the Prussian statesman's promises, the Czar resolved to seize his opportunity, and, by means of a peremptory circular, commit both himself and the King of Prussia to a definite course. At all events, Prince Gortschakoff's despatch was a surprise and embarrassment at Versailles. We have no doubt it will turn out that Count Bismark has declined to endorse the principle laid down in the Russian Note, and has distinctly intimated that the Government of Berlin will oppose any reconsideration of the Paris Treaty until the present war is over. There is also reason to believe that, as the preliminary to negotiations between the signatory Powers, Prince Gortschakoff's Note will be withdrawn or explained away. That statesman has discovered that his minatory despatch was a blunder, and that it is repudiated by all the great Powers, Prussia included. Both from St. Petersburg and Vienna we have the telegraphic assurance that the reply to Earl Granville's despatch will be of a conciliatory character, while we learn from Constantinople that the Porte is ready to co-operate in revising some of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

Though there is probably no foundation for the report that peace negotiations have been resumed, many indications strengthen the statement of a Berlin paper that "the end of the war is at hand." The sole chance of a relief of Paris was a signal success of the Loire army, simultaneously with a sortie on a large scale by General Trochu. Ten days ago considerable anxiety was felt by the besiegers of the French capital, and there was daily expectation that this movement would be carried out. By the last accounts all apprehension had subsided, and the Crown Prince felt perfectly secure against any sudden attack. Whether owing to the unfavourable weather, or the clever plans of Count Moltke, General Aurelles has been unable to carry out his proposed strategic policy. The approach to Paris is apparently entirely cut off by the German forces under Prince Charles, which appear to have abandoned all in-

tention of enveloping the Loire army, and to be forming another ring of steel around the doomed capital. That ring can only be broken by a French victory. General Aurelles commands an army estimated at 200,000, and is supported by the force from Brittany under General Kératry. But he is confronted by a German host, equally numerous and flushed with victory, composed of the forces under Prince Charles, General Von der Tann, and the Duke of Mecklenburg. If a great battle should be fought within the next few days, it could hardly be favourable to the French arms. So confident is the feeling at Versailles that Paris cannot be relieved, and that scarcity is doing its work, that the details of the arrangements for occupying that capital are already perfected. The proposed sortie appears to have been abandoned, and if Paris is not relieved from without in the course of a fortnight, we may expect that General Trochu will capitulate.

Count Bismark's policy is triumphant. The new Prussian Parliament is more favourable to his Government than the last. The electors of Berlin have refused to re-elect Herr Jacoby solely on account of his hostility to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. German unity is all but completed. The Southern States, except Bavaria, have signed treaties for entering the Northern Confederation, and Bavaria is on the point of succumbing in consideration of certain concessions. It remains to be seen whether the accession of these States will liberalise the Confederation, or Prussia retain her bureaucratic ascendancy. The cause of political liberty in Germany is not, we fear, likely to be favoured by the new arrangements.

Prince Amadeus of Italy has been elected King of Spain by the Cortes by a majority so large that further opposition to him is likely to cease. Public opinion in Spain seems to approve of General Prim's choice.—From China, we again learn that all apprehension of an outbreak of hostilities has quite subsided, and that no troops will be needed to protect the resident Europeans.

### EASTERN EMBARRASMENTS.

As most people are painfully aware, there occur sometimes seasons of bodily indisposition when, owing perhaps to the weakness they bring on, all the evil tendencies of one's constitution break out simultaneously with a virulence greater than they have been wont to exhibit. So it is in international affairs. War begets war. Successful appeals to physical force, more especially if the result of them has been unexpected, usually lead on to a resort to the same arbitrament, in other cases of difference between nation and nation. The Franco-German war, whatever may be its direct effects upon the belligerents, is operating indirectly to the reopening of old wounds in neutral States—and the military spirit which had been fanned into fierceness by what is occurring on the soil of France, seems to be searching every unsound place in the relationship of each country to its neighbours, and reproducing feelings which it was hoped had been long laid to rest. We are bound to bear in mind this tendency, common to all the great European Powers, in judging of the recent diplomatic movement of Russia. The Government of the Czar has taken advantage of the dislocation of foreign affairs brought about by the war between France and Germany to throw off certain disabilities imposed upon Russia by the Treaty of Paris, 1856—and it cannot be denied that she has initiated her attempt to recover some portion of what she then lost, in a tone which the other signatory Powers have reason to complain of.

What Russia demands is that the neutralisation of the Black Sea should now cease to be enforced—or, perhaps we shall be describing the original position more accurately by saying that what Russia declares is, that she will no longer be bound by the engagement imposed upon her by superior force at the close of the Crimean war. The object at which she aims may be legitimate and natural—the mode in which she has set about the accomplishment of it is assuredly open to protest. There can be no sort of doubt that, to debar Russia from making such use of the waters which wash her own shores as is customary in the instance of every maritime Power of Europe, is an exceptional humiliation inflicted upon her which she is entitled to shake off as soon as she can, compatibly with her own honour. In fact, it is a penalty which she has been sentenced to pay on account of the lawlessness of her former ambition. The Emperor Nicholas, in 1853, like the Emperor Napoleon in 1870, misjudged his own strength, and committed an act of war in defiance of the remonstrances of neighbouring potentates. His violence did not prosper. He exhausted his immense military resources to no



purpose but his own discomfiture—and, in the issue, his country was subjected to those consequences of defeat to which all aggressive warfare, when successfully resisted, must count upon being exposed. The port and arsenal of Sebastopol was rased to the ground, and the Euxine, which washes nearly the whole of the southern coasts of Russia, was shut against the war-ships of all nations.

That a proud empire like that of Russia should writhe under this imposed penalty is not surprising. She might be, and perhaps is, better without the right of which she was deprived by the Allies in 1856—but she is naturally galled by the yoke of conquest. No one can affect astonishment at her anxiety to throw it off as soon as may be. A treaty engagement, however, is a joint instrument—and one cannot foresee what might become of international pacts, if none of the parties to them is bound to observe their conditions longer than it may chance to be convenient. Pedantry, in such a matter, is unquestionably to be deprecated. Treaties may become obsolete as well as laws. Nevertheless, some importance attaches to the manner in which a country seeks to get rid of any obligation it has consented to take upon itself. The time may come when documentary agreements between people and people will be regarded as superfluous, and when it will be looked upon by States which have any repute for civilisation, as a disgrace to be bound over to keep the peace. But that time, unhappily, has not yet arrived. Neither individuals, nor Governments, can look for public sanction in repudiating, at their own convenience, the bonds to which they may have set their seal. At any rate, the first step to be taken for the release of the good-faith which they have pledged, obviously is to appeal to those to whom they have pledged themselves for a revision of their mutual engagements.

The reply of Earl Granville to Prince Gortschakoff's circular note is logically unanswerable. It convicts the Russian Government of endangering, by its impatience in seeking its ends—which may or may not be justifiable—the foundation of all reverence for public law in Europe. Prince Gortschakoff is evidently not insensible to the rebuke, and, as far as it may be done without a forfeiture of dignity, has withdrawn the menace of which his first despatch was an expression. Whether all apprehensions on the part of this country may be dismissed, is a question upon which we are unable to pronounce a competent opinion. We have great confidence in the good sense of the public—we have also confidence in Her Majesty's Ministers. In spite of some ugly appearances, the affair has not yet assumed an aspect which—in our judgment, at least—precludes a friendly solution of the difficulty. It is as well, however, that we should not shut our eyes to the overwhelming importance to this country of the issue now pending. War with Russia means—what? The temporary obstruction of British commerce, and destruction of the British mercantile navy, by swarms of American cruisers bearing letters of marque, which, like the Alabama, will traverse the ocean in the name of Russia, to take, condemn, sink, or burn. In all probability, therefore, it means war with the United States—possibly an invasion of Ireland. Certainly, it means the stunted application of our resources to the conquest of disease, the enlightenment of ignorance, the relief of poverty, the diminution of crime. It means a great deal of evil and misery which we can foresee—and an incalculable sum of both which we cannot foresee. It means financial and economical perturbations, and political demoralisation. These are the results which, under present circumstances, are implied by war with Russia.

Of course, even these calamities would have to be faced in case of any aggression upon our soil, or assault upon our national independence or its correlative rights. But is the maintenance of the Treaty of 1856 a game worth the candle? Are we fully convinced that the obligation devolves upon England to enforce the faith of treaties upon defaulting Powers, at such a tremendous cost to the interests of her own population? We will not ask, What is the neutralisation of the Black Sea to her? Nor will we insinuate that bad faith on the part of the Russian Government, would be no grievance to the people of the United Kingdom. But, after all, it behoves us not to suffer ourselves, with all our responsibilities, to be provoked into a romantic chivalry which might imperil not merely our national influence, but our political and social well-being, for years, and peradventure, for ages to come. We must not let "the Services," nor the journalism which they can command, egg us on to a contest in the main object of which England has little or no real concern. It will be a most calamitous mistake for us to claim, in the present day, pedagogic authority

over all Europe, that we may punish bad manners as well as morals, by what State soever they may be displayed.

#### NEXT WEEK'S ELECTIONS.

THE elections for the London School Board, which will take place next Tuesday, will be of great interest and importance, both from a political and social point of view. Every person in the ten metropolitan boroughs who is rated to the poor will have a right to vote, whether or not his rates are paid; so that for this purpose the rate-book will be the register. It is to be noted also that two new principles are for the first time to be tested. In this election, the expenses of the candidates for the School Board will be defrayed, not by themselves, but by the local authorities, and the ballot will have a fair trial. If the experiment of throwing the legal expenses of School Board candidates on the rates is found to work well, Professor Fawcett will have a very strong argument for claiming the same arrangement in respect to Parliamentary elections. Should next Tuesday's election be carried out with perfect order and success, it will be impossible to refuse the practice of secret voting in the conduct of Parliamentary contests. Further, the vote then taken will give constitutional expression to the wishes, for a common object, of an aggregate constituency larger than has ever before been appealed to. Far more accurately than the Metropolitan Board of Works the London School Board will represent the three millions of inhabitants of this great capital.

The number of candidates who will go to the poll next week is uncertain. At present there are nearly 150 aspirants for forty-nine seats—being on the average three for each. It is probable, however, that before this evening, when the lists must be finally arranged, many—we should hope a large number—will be withdrawn. If not, the result is likely, so far as any opinion can be formed, to be unsatisfactory. It is now perceived that the cumulative vote will throw everything into confusion, and may turn what would otherwise have been a fair reflection of the views of the metropolitan ratepayers into a conflict in which ingenious tactics will gain the day. No one has any right to require that Roman Catholics should be unrepresented at the new Board, if their interests as educationists are at all affected. But at the eleventh hour they have put forward a candidate in seven out of the ten electoral divisions. Their chances of success are materially increased by the practice introduced in most of the boroughs of adopting a list comprising Churchmen and Dissenters, by which policy electors will be under the necessity of distributing their votes. If the Catholics should be unduly represented at the new Board, it will be due, not to the fair verdict of the ratepayers, but to their use of the cumulative vote under exceptionally favourable circumstances.

It is quite possible to understand that a composite list might be submitted to the electors in provincial boroughs with the view of averting an expensive contest. But in none of the great metropolitan divisions has there, from the first, been a chance of any such arrangement being tolerated. It is now discovered, in cases where there is a united "ticket," that the good candidates suffer by being associated with the indifferent and the bad, and that the plan, though it has the aspect of promoting concord and conciliation, tends to the choice of an ineffective, and perhaps a discordant, Board. We could point to metropolitan boroughs in which confusion and uncertainty have thus been introduced, and where strongly-pronounced Denominationalists, who have been put up simply because of their ecclesiastical views, will stand a chance which would not otherwise have been the case. In some divisions there is probably little hope of preventing the return of objectionable candidates, except by the use of the cumulative vote on the part of ratepayers who desire to see the best and most liberal men elected. It is remarkable that two distinguished clergymen, the Revs. Stopford Brooke and E. A. Abbot, have withdrawn from the Marylebone School Board Association, on account of its exclusion of such candidates as Miss Garrett, and of its acceptance of a list of strong sectarian complexion.

We have already described in general terms what will be the functions of the new School Board. It is evident that the supplying of educational deficiencies in the several districts, the erection of new schools, the choice of managers and schoolmasters, and the perfecting of satisfactory teaching arrangements, will need a Board composed of persons of great experience and singleness of purpose, liberal views, freedom from sectarian prejudices, business aptitude and leisure. Upon candidates

who possess these qualifications, votes should be concentrated. It is obviously far better that one or two such competent men should be returned for each division than that a mixed list should be successful. We hope the electors of London will ignore all "lists." If only a dozen of the most able and competent candidates are returned, their influence at the Board will be strong, if not paramount. The disadvantage of the ticket system is also seen in the fact that, if successful, it would exclude both ladies and working men. All the women and artisans who are seeking seats at the London Board come forward on an independent footing. One or two at least of each order will probably be elected, thanks to the good sense and independence of the large mass of ratepayers who refuses to accept a cut and dried list.

One of the greatest advantages of the forthcoming elections will be to deepen the interest in education among the great body of ratepayers, and thus to facilitate the work of the new Board. Whether or not the majority of those qualified to vote will exercise their privilege remains to be seen. It will be no slight benefit if the stolid apathy of the electoral body in the metropolis can, in this instance, be overcome. Upon the course they take will in a measure depend the moral influence which the Board will be able to wield. When parents are won over to see the importance of elementary education, children will reap the advantage. Their active co-operation, as exhibited in the choice of the most competent candidates, irrespective of cliques and compromises, will diminish the responsibilities of their representatives at the Education Board, and may facilitate the solution of the most difficult problem with which they will have to grapple—the direction and extent of the application of compulsion in respect to the new rate-supported schools.

#### "SHOOTING NIAGARA" AGAIN.

MR. CARLYLE has written one of his characteristic letters, exhibiting all the strength, and not a little of the weakness, of his other writings. With much of what he says it is impossible to disagree. His historical retrospect of the aggressions which France has perpetrated on Germany—although it is hard to visit the sins of the fathers on the children—is not over-coloured. Louis XI., Francis I., Louis XIV., and the Great Napoleon, vied with each other in the sordid cruelty of their attempts to weaken the power of Germany for the benefit of France. Alsace and Lorraine are gems stolen from the German crown. Strasbourg was taken by the basest treachery, and it can hardly be alleged that Metz came into French hands in a less felonious manner. All this is true, and it is equally true that the French of the present generation are thoroughly infected with the vain-glorious ideas and the hateful jealousies of their ancestors. The primary object of the existing war was to break up the unity of Germany, and it is impossible to doubt that if the French had succeeded in crushing the armies which have proved victorious, and in dictating peace at Berlin, they would have imposed terms even more humiliating than those which the Germans threaten to exact from their beaten, although not yet vanquished, enemy.

Mr. Carlyle's letter recalls to us two lines in "Childe Harold":—

Bombs, drums, guns, bastions, batteries, bayonets, bullets,—

Hard words which stick in the soft Muses' gullets.

He uses "hard words" with a vengeance; and although we can excuse his invectives for the sake of the rugged strength of his language and the sledge-hammer blows which he deals, we should be sorry to see his example followed in other quarters—especially as our own history as a nation contains some passages quite as dark as those which disfigure the annals of France. No good can possibly be done by using the epithets which abound in his letter. Nations are not cured of their evil propensities by philippics which wound at once their pride and their self-respect; and an Englishman who enjoys a European reputation ought to remember that counsel, however wise, is likely to excite only anger and resentment, unless it be expressed in terms of studied moderation. If Mr. Carlyle were again to read his former memorable lucubration, "Shooting Niagara," he might perhaps be disposed to question the infallibility of his own judgment, and the wisdom of placing England before the world in the ungracious position of a general scold.

We may entirely agree with Mr. Carlyle's noble estimate of the German character and mission without adopting his low opinion of the French people. The very desperation with which they are now fighting for the integrity of their soil is in itself a proof that there are



elements in their national character which are not unworthy of our sympathy and even of our admiration. At the same time we must bear in mind the political maxim which Mr. Carlyle himself has laid down in one of his works. "A party," he says, "that knows not when it is beaten may become one of the fatallest of things to itself and to all." This is, we suspect, the position in which the French have been placed by the inexorable logic of events, and by their own fatuity. They do not yet see—although others can see well enough—that their fortunes have descended to a point at which, although transient gleams of success are possible, recovery is practically hopeless. But there is a wide difference between saying this and egging on the conqueror to make demands which might justify war à outrance—a war which would carry the sword and the torch to those provinces of France which have hitherto escaped military devastation. It is not the duty or the right of any Englishman to argue that Germany should annex Alsace or Lorraine, or to put forward the immoral plea that countries may lawfully be compelled to accept a change of masters without the consent of their populations. It is true that Mr. Carlyle does not expressly formulate this doctrine; but it is nevertheless an inevitable deduction from his argument. He says that many generations ago Alsace and Lorraine were stolen from Germany, and that therefore it is right for Germany to seize the present opportunity to take them back again. In Mr. Carlyle's eyes, the people of these provinces have clearly forfeited all claim to a voice in their own destiny. On this principle, popular liberty is a chimera, and the strong arm rightfully disposes of the independence of States. Too much of Mr. Carlyle's philosophy is based on reverence for mere physical power, or rather on intellect applied to material force.

We hope that the Germans will not listen to Mr. Carlyle's insidious counsel. It is not Count Bismarck's duty to keep Alsace and Lorraine in his grasp because they were once German provinces, or because, having gained the upper hand, he is able to impose hard terms on the French nation. The only right which he can justly claim in the sight of God or man, is to demand such guarantees from France as will be calculated to save Germany from any future attempt to invade her soil. There is good reason to believe that he will prove more moderate than many of those who, not feeling his responsibility, yet presume to force upon him their rash and uncalled-for advice. The watershed of the Vosges constitutes a natural rampart between France and Germany. The selection of such a frontier would exclude from German territory all French towns and all French-speaking populations. It would restore to Germany her own, as respects both territory and people, at least so far as is just and practicable; and if the Germans must have material guarantees, the arrangement is one which would be infinitely more reasonable than the sweeping confiscation advocated by writers of the Carlyle school. Doubtless it would be better if the conquerors were to give to the world a sublime example of disinterestedness; but the Germans, if no better, are certainly no worse, than Englishmen or Americans, and it is absurd for us to expect their Government to act upon principles which our own has never recognised. The kingdom of Oude did not voluntarily submit to British rule. The French Canadians did not become British subjects from love of England. Gibraltar does not remain a British possession because Spain has forgotten the story of her humiliation. The time will doubtless come when civilised nations will pursue a more unselfish policy; but we fear that Mr. Carlyle will not live to see that time, and we are certain that he will not hasten its advent.

#### BELGRAVIAN MANSIONS FOR LABOURING PEOPLE.

THE cold and stately region known as Belgravia is not precisely the kind of place in which we should expect to find the humble dwelling of the labouring man. There is nothing in the appearance of the thoroughfares debouching from the aristocratic squares, lined with the halls of rank and fashion, to suggest the idea that the "herd prophane" had their abiding place within a stone's throw; that a distance of a few yards only separated the home of the millionaire from that of the hardworking labourer. Yet we have but to stroll through the mews which form the narrow backstreets of not a few of the proudest Belgravian thoroughfares, to find ourselves in the midst of a teeming industrial population, of whose existence we should never have dreamt, had we not received this practical illustration. It is a curious and suggestive spectacle. We wonder how many of the

mob of countesses, marchionesses, and honourable ladies who crowd the committee lists of benevolent associations, or 'get up fancy bazaars for charitable objects, know anything of the strange, busy world commanded by the back windows of these mansions? How many of our fair Belgravian maidens have ever ventured within the fragrant precincts of a West-end mews. They know a good deal respecting the condition of our street Arabs, they can tell us something about the distressed labourers of Whitechapel, the French and German wounded, or the savage African tribes that emulate the amenities of civilisation by ferociously making war on each other, but it is more than doubtful whether they know much of the men, women, and children that swarm in the shadow of the Belgravian palaces. Yet the population is a large one, and possesses some curious features. It is a "horsey" population, it talks of horses, thinks of horses, and seems to care for nothing but horses. This is but natural, considering the men are employed principally as coachmen, ostlers, and stable-helpers. Many of them reside in little rooms above the stables in which the horses are kept; the others finding shelter where they can in little streets—half mews, half lodging-houses.

As might be expected, the healthiness of a population residing under such conditions is most difficult to preserve; nothing but extreme cleanliness can ward off the danger of pestilence. The dung-heaps adjoining each stable, the roughly-paved courtyards, at times reeking with liquid filth, and the close, dense atmosphere, must at times prove severely trying to even the soundest constitutions. But where else can these people live? If we enter the broad fringe of industrial dwellings which encircle a portion of Belgravia, we shall find lodging accommodation to be both dear and scarce. The butlers, footmen, and other servants, who form such conspicuous features of a Belgravian establishment, are not all single men. Some have wives and families, and these, naturally enough, prefer to reside near the place where the head of the household is employed. But the difficulty of procuring suitable dwellings was always great, and often one not to be surmounted. Had the Belgravians once seriously directed their attention to this subject, perhaps something might have been done long before this to meet the wants of a large and not undeserving class of our industrial population. However, better late than never. A step in the right direction has just been made. The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, whose useful and commodious structures in Shoreditch and Bethnal Green have more than once been described by us, have extended the area of their operations from the east to the west, and have erected substantial and handsome-looking blocks of buildings in Ebury-street, on the Marquis of Westminster's estate, and situated near Belgrave and Eaton-squares. In this, the company were encouraged by the liberality of the marquis, who granted them suitable sites in two streets leading out of Ebury-street. Excepting in this one feature, the whole of the details connected with the erection of the dwellings have been based on strictly commercial principles; the element of charity being systematically discarded, as militating against the permanent success of the dwellings as a self-supporting institution. This, which to not a few, seems so cold and calculating, is really the most practical and useful form of benevolence.

The new buildings are somewhat varied, so far as external appearance is concerned, from those erected by the association in other parts of London. This was an indispensable condition, in consequence of the generally superior character of the neighbourhood, and the strongly expressed wish of the Marquis of Westminster that the new structures should possess attractive-looking exteriors. This latter desideratum was achieved by the introduction of large, handsomely-designed shops, with suitable accommodation for shopkeepers, on the ground floor; the upper stories being divided into small tenements, and the roofs facing the street being provided with high gables. The Coleshill Buildings consist of five distinct blocks. Each block is six stories in height, and possesses common staircases, fireproof, leading from the street to the summit. The general plan of a block is not easy of description without the aid of a diagram, but it may be roughly described as a parallelogram, having a frontage of fifty-six feet by a depth of forty-four feet, divided into four sections by a party wall in the centre, and a passage in the middle of each wing. The two centre sections are set back about three feet from the front line, for the purpose of giving space for a balcony of that width on each of the upper floors. Each section comprises one suite of rooms, to which access is ob-

tained from the passages leading direct from the balcony. The balconies are reached by a fire-proof staircase, which is continued to, and gives access to, the roof. Entering one of the buildings, we find the end sections occupied by the larger and dearer class of tenements, consisting of three rooms and a kitchen. These may seem rather small to those accustomed to live in comfortable roomy houses, yet the amount of accommodation and convenience furnished is largely in excess of what could be obtained in even the cheapest neighbourhood for the same money. The living-room in each tenement is provided with a range, containing oven and boiler. Leading out of the living-room is the kitchen, or scullery, fitted up in the most complete manner, with all essentials, including dust-shoot, washing-copper, closet, cistern, sink, fireplace, coal-cupboard, &c. The parlour, looking on to the street, is a spacious room, having two windows. The fireplace is formed a little distance from the centre of the wall, so that, when required, a bed may be placed in the space thus gained. On the other side of the fireplace is a cupboard and sideboard. The bedroom proper is rather smaller, but fitted up in a similar manner. All three rooms are prettily painted and papered, and possess a really snug and attractive appearance.

The smaller tenements each contain living-room, bedroom, and scullery, these being fitted up in precisely the same manner as the larger tenements, the windows of the living-room looking on to the balconies. The ventilation of the buildings is secured by the ceiling of each room being provided with a ventilator communicating directly with spacious air-shafts running through the centre of each block. The air of the various rooms is thus constantly rarified, and a system of natural ventilation is produced. Besides this, by setting open the windows a current of external air can be at once passed through every room. The lower panes of the windows are filled in with ornamental ground glass, so that no window blinds are necessary. The windows are constructed so that the two lower panes are not made to open, and the danger of children falling out, as well as the disadvantages of the ordinary window sashes, are avoided. All the rooms are 8ft. 3in. in height. Drainage is effected by means of stone ware-pipes passing from the top of the building, down the corners of the wash-houses, into a large syphon trap, with an upcast ventilating pipe, and thence direct to the common-sewer. The dust-shaft carries the dust to covered receptacles at the base of the building—and each shoot is provided with an iron cover, so as to prevent the return of dust and effluvia—also continued to the top of the building, and act as ventilators to the dust-bins. An interesting feature of the new buildings is the provision made for the constant supply of water to each tenement. It is a feature with which all interested in the improvement of the dwellings of the poor should render themselves familiar. It appears that among the acts of the last Session was one compelling the metropolitan water companies to provide water by meter to all who demand it. The company from whose mains the new dwellings are supplied, have erected capacious tanks on the top of each block. From these tanks pipes convey the water into the various kitchens, where the flow is regulated by springs of ingenious construction, which, when the tap is turned on, allow a moderate supply of water to be drawn, and then stop of their own accord. To procure a fresh supply the tap must be turned off, and then on again. This effectually secures against the negligent waste of water, and nothing but downright malice can cause it to run to waste. The effect of this will be that each family in all the tenements will have a constant supply of water in his home every day in the week. Nor does the benefit stop with the inmates of the buildings. The company have erected a water-stand in their courtyard free to all the neighbourhood, in which persons may come and draw a pailful of water, while, by an ingenious contrivance of internal valves, even if any one should carelessly leave the tap turned, yet the valve would shut after a short time, and the water would cease to run. When the system becomes better known, it will be largely introduced to working-class dwellings, not only in the metropolis but also in the provinces. So far as it has been tried at present it seems perfect. The total number of men, women, and children expected to be provided for is between 600 and 700. The Ebury buildings containing forty three-roomed and twenty-five two-roomed tenements, and four shops, and the Coleshill buildings containing fifty three-roomed and sixty two-roomed tenements and ten shops, in all, 175 dwellings and fourteen shops. So far the experiment has proved decidedly successful, and this fact, we trust, will lead to its being repeated in other portions of the metropolis.



## POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHS.

The camera has become an important agent in the work of popular education. Although still in its infancy, the art of photography has acquired a reputation and influence, compared with which that of the painter and engraver appears almost tame and commonplace. By its instrumentality we are enabled to render ourselves familiar with the appearance of places and people as they really exist, and not as they are supposed to be. A single glance at a series of photographic views of Palestine will sometimes render us better acquainted with its characteristic features than if we were to study a dozen volumes of travel in that strange mysterious region. And so with other countries. There is scarcely a civilised country on the face of the earth which has not been laid under contribution by the photographic artist, who seems to have become ubiquitous. A visit to any extensive photographic establishment, such as those of the London Stereoscopic Company in Cheap-side and Regent-street, is sufficient to prove the untiring industry and indomitable perseverance of the disciple of the camera. The burning deserts of Egypt, the ruined cities of Arabia, the sunny shores of the Mediterranean, the classic ruins of Greece and Italy, the romantic banks of the Rhine, the castellated hills of Germany, the blooming vineyards of France, the olive groves of Spain, the pine forests of Canada, the broad prairies of America, the Aztec temples of Mexico, the diamond fields of South Africa, the bush scenery of Australia, are all brought before our eyes, without the need of our leaving the drawing-room table. In a single hour we can see more of the world than did Captain Cook during the whole of his voyages. At the present moment artists are busy photographing the more important battle-fields on which the military fortunes of France have become miserably wrecked. One of the saddest and most touching of these pictures is that representing the ruined village of Bazailles. It forms a stern and eloquent remonstrance against the cruelty and wickedness of war, and, when published, will do more than the descriptions of newspaper correspondents to bring home to the hearts of Englishmen the really frightful and merciless character of the conflict from which we are severed by only a few miles of ocean. Never was war so accurately illustrated before. We see every locality as it actually exists at the present moment. Even the leading actors in the horrible tragedy fail to escape the observation of the camera. The photographer is not abashed by the presence of monarchs or generals. Here, in an album, we have the now familiar features of King William, the Crown Prince, Bismarck, Von Moltke, the ex-Emperor Napoleon, the ex-Empress Eugenie, Marshal Bazaine, and many another personage whose name has become indelibly associated with the fearful struggle which has terminated in the unexpected collapse of the French military power. But there are other and even more popular portraits. Here are the members of the English Royal Family. Here also are Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, but how unlike the caricatures in *Punch* and *Fun*! Then come a troop of literary men, beginning with the rugged-featured, many-worded Chelsea philosopher; and including the cynical novelist "born in a library," the eccentric-minded, but true-hearted author of "Unto this Last," and not a few writers whose names have become familiar as household words. The arts and sciences are well represented, nor is commerce neglected, while as for religion, both Nonconformity and the Establishment have little to complain of on the score of undue partiality. If the bishops and rubicund-visaged deans muster in strong force, the Spurgeons, Newman Halls, Binneys, and other Nonconformist luminaries are no less numerous. A very characteristic portrait is that of the Rev. Thomas Binney. How lifelike are the broad, massive forehead, thoughtful features, and the honest smiling look so characteristic of his true nobleness of heart! Not less interesting is the portrait of the Rev. Robert Moffat the missionary, and father-in-law of Livingstone. Patient determination seems expressed in every line of the earnest worker's features. It is a really popular portrait, as it deserves to be. When Charles Knight first started the *Penny Magazine*, he laid much stress on the utility of good illustrations as a means of education, but his words apply with tenfold increased force to the productions of the camera. It is education in its brightest and most attractive form. No person can gaze at a good photograph without learning something. Even the illiterate poor have learned to regard with contempt the hideous water-colour "portraits" of which their ancestors were so proud. But what will be the end of it all? Shall we ever have a photographic newspaper, one in which the illustrations shall be veritable photographs? Who knows? Why should not our school-books be illustrated in this manner? Why should not photographic views and portraits be introduced more largely into our schoolrooms? But we might go on for a long time asking such questions without meeting a satisfactory response, so we leave them to be put by others, and content ourselves with another look over the contents of our well-stocked album.

The inscription on the "Moabite Stone" is the subject of an article in the last number of the *North British Review*, which is understood to be written by one of the most learned and judicious scholars of the present day. The interpretation of the inscription as given by him is in remarkable and minute accordance with the inspired relations of the Bible.

## Court, Official, and Personal News.

The Queen is expected to leave Balmoral this day, and to reach Windsor to-morrow morning.

Her Majesty has now nine grandsons and eight granddaughters, together seventeen grandchildren, of whom the Crown Princess of Prussia gives five (one died in 1866), the Princess of Wales five, the Princess Alice five, and the Princess Helena two. And the Queen has still five unmarried children!

The Prince of Wales arrived on Monday at Merton Hall, near Thetford, on a visit to Lord Walsingham.

The Mayor of Cork has invited all mayors in Ireland to join him in waiting on the Lord Lieutenant and seeking the release of the political prisoners.

Mr. Philbrick has been appointed Recorder of Colchester, in the room of Mr. Bushby, who has been appointed to the Worship-street Police-court.

Although in delicate health, Mr. Herbert Spencer is still actively engaged on an important work.

Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging the receipt of the resolution adopted at a recent meeting at Bradford in favour of the Permissive Bill, says that a measure to deal with the licensing system is "receiving the attentive consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

Ministers will not next session bring in a bill dealing with the Government of London. There is, however, to be a measure for improving the London water supply. It is intended to make it compulsory on the several companies to afford a constant supply, to improve the quality of the water at a cheaper rate, and to provide a more summary method of recovering penalties against them.

The dignity of knighthood is about to be conferred on Mr. Llewellyn Turner, who has finally resigned the office of Mayor of Carnarvon, which he has held for eleven years in succession.

## THE EDUCATION ACT.

## CANDIDATES FOR THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

THE CITY OF LONDON.—Mr. Secondary Potter, the deputy returning officer, has announced that the following gentlemen have been duly nominated as candidates for seats in connection with the City of London (four members):—Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., the Rev. Prebendary Mackenzie, M.A., rector of All Hallows, Lombard-street; Mr. H. E. Knight, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. J. B. Austin, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., Mr. John Chubb, the Rev. Prebendary Rogers, M.A., rector of Bishopsgate; Mr. G. W. Hastings, and Mr. W. S. Gover.

WESTMINSTER.—Mr. Rogers, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following official list of candidates (five members):—Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Sir Charles Trevelyan; the Rev. Dr. Alfred Barry, principal of King's College; Viscount Sandon, M.P., the Rev. D. J. H. Rigg, principal of the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster; Mr. George Potter, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, M.P., the Rev. J. H. Barber, M.A., head master of Pimlico Grammar School; Mr. George Ship-ton, Lord Howard of Glossop, Mr. G. W. Martin, and Mr. C. E. Madie.

MARYLEBONE.—Mr. W. E. Greenwell, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (seven members):—The Rev. Prebendary Thorold, M.A., vicar of St. Pancras; Alderman Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow; Miss Elizabeth Garret, M.D.; Dr. James Edmunds; the Rev. Dr. Joseph Angus, President of Regent's Park College; Dr. George Wyld; Mr. M. A. Garvey (barrister), Mr. G. Versey, Mr. W. T. Whelpton, Mr. F. S. Powell, Professor Huxley, M.D., Mr. J. Marshall, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. James Watson, Mr. W. Beare, Mr. T. G. Brewer, Mr. W. R. Cremer, Mr. W. H. Dixon, Mr. J. T. Holt Dunn, Mr. J. Guedalla, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Professor Hoppus, LL.D., Mr. E. J. Hutchins, Professor Marks, and Mr. F. J. Stanford.

FINSBURY.—Mr. Layton, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following official list (six members):—Mr. W. T. Torrens, M.P.; Sir F. Lyett; Mr. F. Tomkins; Mr. W. Rivington; the Rev. J. Rodgers, M.A., vicar of St. Thomas's, Charterhouse; Mr. Hugh Owen, Mr. T. C. Clark, Mr. F. J. Hartley, Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Mr. J. R. Morrison, Mr. Josiah Leaver, Mr. E. Mirams (barrister), Mr. E. J. Tabram, Mr. B. Lucraft, Mr. John Sands, and Mr. C. H. Lovell.

GREENWICH.—Mr. Bristow, deputy returning officer, has issued the following list (four members):—The Rev. Dr. J. Cole Miller, vicar of Greenwich; the Rev. B. Waugh (Dissenting minister), Mr. W. G. Lemon, the Rev. G. M. Glenie (Roman Catholic), Miss Emily Davies, Mr. John McGregor, M.A., Mr. F. Johnson, Mr. George Ofor, Mr. W. W. Stanger, Mr. W. D. Burnett, Mr. G. White, and Mr. T. D. Floyd.

CHELSEA.—Mr. Lahee, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (four members):—The Rev. Canon Cromwell, principal of St. Mark's Training College; Lord Lawrence, Mr. W. C. Barber, Dr. J. H. Gladstone, Mr. E. S. Dale (barrister), Mr. J. L. Lobley, Mr. J. Osborne, Mr. T. G. Snell, Mr. W. A. Davy, Mr. R. Freeman, Mr. W. Harry, Mr. G. N. Kiell, and Mrs. Grey.

TOWER HAMLETS.—Mr. Harrison, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (five members):—Dr. Thomas Bowkett, Mr. E. H. Currie, Mr. H. Clements, Mr. H. D. Jeffries, Mr. A. Langdale (Roman Catholic), Mr. F. Young, Mr. T. Scrutton, Mr. J. M. Matthias, Mr. W. Pearce, Mr. E. N. Buxton, and Mr. B. Baxter.

SOUTHWARK.—Mr. D. Birt, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (four members):—The Rev. J. Mee, M.A., vicar of St. Jude's, and formerly Dean of Grahamstown, Mr. E. H. Bayley, Mr. W. Rendle, Mr. B. Ingle, Mr. C. Herring, Mr. Turner, Rev. J. Sinclair, Mr. W. Stafford, Mr. F. J. Clements, Mr. Crescens Robinson, Mr. A. Lafone, Mr. J. Wallace, Mr. A. Side, and Mr. W. E. Baxter.

LAMBETH.—Mr. Roffey, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (five mem-

bers):—Sir Thomas Tilson, the Rev. F. Tugwell, M.A., vicar of St. Andrew's, Mr. C. Few, Mr. Edward Gudgeon, Mr. R. Applegarth, Mr. G. M. Murphy, Mr. W. R. Selway, Mr. J. E. Tresidder, Mr. C. White, Mr. John Gibbons, Mr. J. Stiff, Mr. S. Shasen, Mr. M. D. Kavanagh, Mr. B. Hannon, Mr. A. M'Arthur, and Mr. T. Mottershead.

HACKNEY.—Mr. R. Ellis, the deputy returning officer, has issued the following list of candidates (five members):—Mr. W. Addiscott, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Mr. J. H. Crossman, Mr. W. Green, the Rev. Septimus Hansard, Mr. J. Hales, the Rev. John Oakley, the Rev. J. A. Pictou, Mr. C. Reed, M.P., Mr. T. B. Smithies, Mr. A. Sonnenschein, the Rev. E. F. Coke, Mr. J. H. Clements, the Rev. W. Lockhart, Mr. G. F. Pardon, Mr. J. Runtz, and Mr. C. R. Wood.

There are eight Roman Catholic candidates for seats at the new London School Board—Lord Howard Glossop in Westminster, Mr. Arthur Langdale in the Tower Hamlets, Mr. E. J. Hutchins in Marylebone, Mr. M. D. Kavanagh in Lambeth, Mr. E. S. Dale in Chelsea, Mr. James Wallace in Southwark, the Rev. J. M. Glenie in Greenwich, and the Rev. W. Lockhart in Hackney. As it is expected that the Roman Catholic ratepayers will "plump" for their candidate, who will thus receive many votes from each supporter, it is considered likely that some Roman Catholics will obtain seats at the Board.

Mr. W. Blanchard Jerrold has retired from the Marylebone contest, and has thrown the weight of his personal influence into the scale of Mr. Joseph Guedalla's candidature. This example of unselfish action, designed to ensure the return of a truly eligible representative to "a deliberative assembly," as Mr. Jerrold says, "intended by Parliament to be a gathering of wise, known, liberal-minded, and sympathetic men, who have long been familiar with the children of the poor, their wants, and—which is more essential—the sad lives and dismal prejudices of their unfortunate parents," is one which might be advantageously followed.

The old cry of "Infidel" has been raised against some few of the candidates for election to the School Board. Miss Garrett answered her clerical calumnists in a very sufficient manner the other day. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, who also aspires to a seat at the board, as a representative of Marylebone, has met with equal vigour and promptitude the same charge of being "a freethinker or materialist," in the sense of rejecting the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and denying submission to any higher court of appeal, for the guidance of life and conduct, than human reason and the laws of society. Mr. Dixon says:—

I was ever a member of the Church of England; have been much connected with her Sunday-schools; am deeply attached to her as the outgrowth of our greatest national efforts. But I am no bigot; and I claim for all men in the sphere of conscience a wider and more equal liberty than I claim for them in the sphere of politics. My travels and writings in the Holy Land are sufficiently known to answer any challenge; and it is not a secret that I was one of the founders, and have always been one of the working committee, of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I believe there are few men living who regard Christian teaching of so much importance as I do. Christianity (says Blackstone) is a part of the Common Law of England; and how are we to train good citizens if we ignore this fundamental basis of all our law?

Among the meetings held on Friday night in connection with the Metropolitan School Board elections was one at Greenwich, in support of the candidature of Miss Emily Davies. Mr. Mill, in a letter which was read, wrote:—"I consider the election of ladies to seats on the School Board essential to the satisfactory working of the Education Act. Without it the education of girls will certainly be neglected; yet, if the education of either is to be neglected, the neglect of that of boys would have less serious consequences in the future; this is so plain that I think we are bound to make all other considerations, even differences in religious opinion, give way to this one; especially as the short-sighted egotism of men has caused them to thrust themselves forward in such numbers as candidates in most places, as to make the candidature of ladies almost hopeless." Mr. T. Hughes, M.P., addressed the meeting, and said it would be a perfect farce to elect a board to carry out the Elementary Education Act unless they could succeed in putting some women upon it. In Philadelphia there were no less than 1,500 persons engaged in education, of whom only fifty were of the male sex. As an evidence that Miss Davies was peculiarly qualified for a seat on the board, Mr. Hughes stated that she was principally instrumental in opening the Oxford and Cambridge local examination to girls, and in the establishment of the college for girls at Hitchin. Dr. Elizabeth Garrett, in a short speech, added her testimony to Miss Emily Davies's peculiar qualifications for a seat on the board. Miss Davies spoke briefly, and said she should be in favour of using the compulsory powers of the Act, but so as to cause the smallest possible amount of interference with the habits of the people. As to religious education, Miss Davies said she had had a great deal to do with practical schoolmistresses, and they told her that they found it possible to give the religious education which was wanted without hurting the feelings of anybody. A resolution in support of Mr. Davies's candidature was carried unanimously.

At St. James's Hall, a meeting, stated to have been "almost entirely composed of the upper and middle classes," was held, under the presidency of Dr. Brewer, M.P., to hear a statement of the opinions of Mr. George Potter, one of the candidates of the Westminster district, and a resolution in his favour was unanimously adopted.

ORIGINAL



A meeting has been held in Sion College, representing the London Ratepayers' Association and the Sion College Committee, for the purpose of receiving the report from the delegates who had conferred with Sir John Lubbock's Committee. Mr. Cummins, the President of Sion College, was in the chair. After some discussion it was agreed that the joint meeting, representing the Sion College Committee and the London Ratepayers' Association, were unable to adopt the report recently issued by Sir John Lubbock's committee. A resolution was unanimously passed that no further combined action should be taken.

A meeting of the ratepayers was held in the Myddelton Hall, Islington, on Tuesday evening, to hear the Rev. Dr. Raleigh deliver a lecture regarding the citizens' duty in the election of representatives to the London School Board; Alderman Lusk, M.P., presided. The rev. gentleman declared himself a hearty supporter of Mr. Chatfield Clarke, but declared his readiness to accept any other if presented on proper public grounds, and especially expressed a hope that Mr. Torrens, to whom London is indebted for her School Board, would be returned by those whom he already so worthily represents in Parliament.

At a meeting of Congregational ministers of the South of London, held at Camberwell-green Chapel (Rev. J. Pillans), it was resolved that the ministers present would promote the election of Mr. W. R. Selway, and as a second candidate that of Mr. James Stiff.

There is a very satisfactory prospect of Mr. Alexander M'Arthur's election for Lambeth. His committees are very numerous and influential, and he has held meetings in all parts of the district. Last night he addressed a large audience in the Lambeth Baths. The joint candidature of Sir T. Tilson and Mr. Few appears to have divided the Church party, the latter being obnoxious to the Evangelicals. Mr. T. Hughes is acting as chairman of Mr. Applagarth's committee.

Under the new Education Act the Metropolis has been divided into ten parts—Marylebone, Finsbury, Lambeth, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Westminster, Southwark, City, Chelsea, and Greenwich. The first election of the School Boards is fixed for the 29th inst., and is to be held every third year. An elector is entitled to the same number of votes as there are members to be elected, and may give them all to one candidate. The School Board for London may pay the chairman of such board such salary as they may from time to time, with the sanction of the the Educational Department, fix. The expenses of a School Board are to be paid out of a fund called "The School Fund," and all money, whether from fees by scholars, Parliament, and otherwise, is to be carried to the fund. "Any sum required to meet any deficiency in the School Fund, whether for satisfying past or future liabilities, shall be paid by the rating authority out of the local rate."

#### THE PROVINCES.

In the large towns the attempts to carry a selected list of candidates without a contest have mostly failed. Thirteen had been agreed to at Bolton, but at the last moment sixteen more were nominated. The Liberal party and the League adhered to the list agreed upon by the preliminary town's meetings and the public meeting. At Bradford also the list of fifteen carefully selected has failed, and forty-six candidates have been nominated. Strenuous efforts are still being made to avert a contest. The candidates include two ladies, two clergymen (one of them Bishop Ryan), one Dissenting minister, two Roman Catholic priests, and several working men. Of the sixty-seven persons nominated for the Manchester School Board twenty-three have been withdrawn, so that there remain forty-four to compete for the fifteen seats. In Liverpool there was a host of candidates, and it was not till close upon four o'clock on Saturday (after which no withdrawals could be made) that all but fifteen were induced to withdraw. There are now, therefore, only as many candidates as seats on the Board, and the denominational proportion will be seven Churchmen, four Protestant Nonconformists, and four Roman Catholics. At Stockport there are twenty-eight nominations, and a contest is inevitable. At Nottingham the candidates include one representative of the Birmingham League, one of the Manchester Union, three Churchmen, one Congregationalist, one Baptist, one Methodist, one Roman Catholic, one Unitarian, one of the Town Council, and two working men. A severe contest is expected. At Coventry the Liberals have nominated seven candidates pledged to the principle of undenominational instruction. There are eleven seats. Political parties being nearly equally divided in Coventry, it is expected that the contest will be very close. The number of candidates nominated for the fifteen seats on the School Board for Salford is fifty-six, including one lady. Wednesday is the last day for the withdrawal of nominations, and the election will take place on the 30th instant. At Bridgwater seven members are to be elected on the 29th. Three Churchmen, three Nonconformists, and one neutral were at first put forward. But the working men claimed representation, and the end has been that ten have been nominated. At Sheffield there are at present ninety candidates for fifteen seats. There seems at present every probability of a severe contest. The Wesleyans have nominated three candidates; and it is understood that the members of the Church of England have nominated five. Almost at every ward meeting resolutions have been passed in favour of the Board carrying out the compulsory clauses of the Act.

The working men of Leicester have determined upon a bold move. At a meeting of the trades delegates, held on Monday night, it was resolved

that there should be a fair proportion of working men on the School Board of the town; and that they should be paid for their services by a subscription among the trades. A committee was formed to give effect to the resolution.

On Friday the Nonconformists of Birmingham, to the number of 5,000, met in the Town Hall, to protest against the election to the School Board of any candidate not pledged to oppose sectarian Bible reading in rate-aided schools. The Baptists, Independents, Wesleyans, Society of Friends, and other denominations, were represented. The Rev. H. W. Holland (Wesleyan) moved, and the Rev. R. W. Dale (Independent), seconded, the following resolution:—"That this meeting, believing that it is contrary to the spirit of the Christian faith and to the principles of religious freedom to provide for the propagation of religious truth by forced contributions levied on the whole community, protests against applying a rate professedly levied for the purposes of education, to the maintenance of a system of sectarian religious teaching." The meeting agreed to support the fifteen candidates nominated by the Liberal Association, and to divide their votes equally among them. Another great demonstration by the Liberals was announced for Wednesday. The contest is becoming very warm between Church and Dissenters.

A meeting of Nonconformists was held in Manchester on Friday, for the purpose of deciding upon the course to be pursued in selecting and supporting candidates in the approaching election of a School Board for the city. It was resolved that the duty of all true Nonconformists was to support exclusively those candidates who were the known representatives of Liberal and unsectarian principles in popular education, secured by a compulsory measure. The names of eleven gentlemen among the candidates nominated for the board were recommended for the support of the Nonconformist body.

The ministers and superintendents of the Nonconformist Sunday-schools of Bromsgrove have applied to the Education Department for an order for the election of a School Board. Their memorial shows that at present, out of the 750 children attending the National School, 250 are children of Nonconformist parents. It proceeds:—"Believing, then, as we do, that the present accommodation provided by the managers of the Bromsgrove National School is more than sufficient for children of Church of England parents, and having good grounds for believing that Nonconformist parents would much prefer for their children a School Board school in which no religious formularies will be used; and knowing that the Bromsgrove British school is only continued until such time as it can be made over to the School Board, we pray that the grant applied for, or about to be applied for, may be withheld, and that steps may be taken for the formation of a School Board for this district."

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

At a recent meeting in York to raise money for Church schools, Canon Trevor expressed his opinion that the clause of the new Act forbidding catechisms and formularies in schools was a revival of the penal persecutions. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") The Act put the Church of England and the Church of Rome under special disabilities, those being mainly the bodies which adopted catechisms and formularies in their schools.

Mr. Disraeli was one of the speakers at an educational meeting at Aylesbury on Thursday. The right hon. gentleman spoke at some length upon the changes in the Education Bill in its passage through Parliament, and pointed out many respects in which those changes were not, in his opinion, improvements. He looked forward to a time, however, when elementary education in England will be of a richer and more varied character than is practicable under the new Act, and that will render religious instruction even more indispensable than now. We live (said the right hon. gentleman) in times when the best security of the State is in the intelligence of the people.

In publishing his opinion on the pending contest in Lambeth, Mr. Spurgeon takes occasion to say that he is sorry to see on the list the names of clergymen and Dissenting ministers:—

If their places of worship are full, they will have abundance of employment for their time in attending to their congregations; and, if they are empty, they will do well to use their strength in filling them. When we have so many able men ready for the office, it seems a pity to call away preachers of the Gospel from their spiritual engagements.

This is met by a rejoinder from the Rev. G. M. Murphy, formerly Surrey Chapel missionary, now a minister, and himself a candidate. Remarking on the above passage, he says:—

This is smart, but if Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle is full he finds time to edit a magazine, to attend bazaars, orphanages, colleges, &c., to lecture on candles, gorillas, stones, &c., and no one has ever accused him of too much attention (pastorally) to his congregation. Last week I had the happiness, at my church and at the Lambeth Baths, of addressing almost as many people as Mr. Spurgeon in the same time, i.e., some 9,000, and none of these were taken from anybody else's congregation, whereas if Mr. Spurgeon were to return to their respective sanctuaries the people belonging to them who attend his Newington Temple he would have as small an audience as some of the men he affects so mightily to despise.

And in further vindication of his candidature, Mr. Murphy says:—"Perhaps even Mr. Spurgeon may one day learn that there's something more noble in the world than making men Baptists, and that is, to make them men."

The *Watchman* says, in a leading article, "The Church of England, indeed, is pressing forward its

building cases now, but then the reason is that the cases of the Church of England are nearly all building cases. As a rule, the Church day-school is built as a day-school, and utilised as a Sunday-school. It is otherwise with Nonconformists. They build Sunday-schools, as such, and by no means always utilise these as day-schools. Many hundreds of such might be so utilised immediately; many will be during the next twelve months. The prospect of being able to get no more building grants after this year's end has stimulated the Church of England to a spasm of amazing liberality and exertion. Ten years' work has been packed into six months. Probably a million and a-half of money will be expended, as the consequence, during the next eighteen months, on the cases which are now passing through the department, and the last of which will be settled on the 31st of December. At a rough calculation, from 1,500 to 2,000 schools will be built, say 1,700. A hundred fresh Methodist schools will be opened after Christmas next, perhaps more. As many more new schools, we have little doubt, will be opened twelve months later. We should not be greatly surprised if, before the crisis is fully over, 250 schools have been added to Methodism. Few of these will be in new buildings; happily, the buildings are for the most part already in existence. It must be remembered that Methodist schools are usually much larger than the average, and that each school, if it had to be built, would cost on an average from 1,200l. to 1,500l."

The Earl of Shaftesbury writes to the *Times*:—"Many of your readers believe, I fear, that the new Act for the education of the people will immediately supersede the necessity of ragged-schools. A withdrawal or diminution of the subscriptions to them may, in consequence, be apprehended. May I be allowed to make, through your columns, an earnest appeal to our present supporters, and entreat them to continue, for a twelvemonth at least, the bounty they have hitherto bestowed? Even upon the supposition—and it is a very doubtful one—that a new and effective system can be devised to catch and detain these wild and wandering tribes, a long interval must elapse between the actual state of things and the institution of universal discipline. During that interval, were the ragged-schools broken up, some 30,000 children would be thrown back to their former state of wretchedness, ignorance, and neglect. Society, depend upon it, would, in a great variety of ways, feel the mischievous and painful results of so vast a destitution. Perhaps it may be said that we represent no more than half of the masses who require education and protection, for both must go together. But the half is in itself a large figure, and it will acquire a greater importance when the public remember that our work among these children has not been limited to the simplest operations of humane sentiment, to partial and momentary relief; these forlorn outcasts have, in many instances, been turned to good account. The colonies know and confess the value of the multitudes we have sent out in emigration. The Shoeblack Brigades in the streets of London are daily witnesses to successful effort. Thousands brought out of the depths of filth and misery have been placed in domestic and other service and to the satisfaction of their employers, while not a few hold respectable stations in the metropolis, and are themselves teachers in the very schools where they first heard a word of kindness and acquired the rudiments of knowledge. Of the teachers in these schools, some 3,000 men and women of every degree and of every calling, it is not possible for me to speak with adequate affection and respect. The experience of nearly thirty years justifies such an expression. And should they be suddenly and rudely dismissed from their holy self-denying labours, no legislative enactment nor official decree would ever again collect them together."

Mr. Helps, the well-known author of "Friends in Council," has calculated that the men wounded in the war would fill two lines of narrow beds placed side by side, and stretching from London to Dover, a distance of seventy miles.

INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS.—Another of the solid, well-built and plain, though not unsightly, blocks of habitations which the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company are raising in all parts of the town, but especially in those neighbourhoods where increasing value of land is driving out the poor, was opened on Friday by the Duke of Cambridge. The new range of buildings, consisting actually of five blocks rather than one, is in Ebury-street, and a branch thoroughfare named Queen-street. The design is the same as that with which, since its introduction by Sir Sydney Waterlow, seven or eight years ago, the London public has become familiar. The number of dwellings erected on this plan by the same company, within the period just mentioned, is about a thousand, the sum expended being 185,000l., and the return of five per cent. being steadily maintained. Another distinguishing character of the new buildings, and one which the Earl of Shaftesbury commended in eloquent terms, in the course of his speech to the company assembled at luncheon, is the continual water-supply. This inestimable boon is accompanied by ingenious mechanism, devised and furnished by Messrs. Tylor and Son, which regulates the flow, and effectually prevents waste. The Duke of Cambridge, having been received by Sir Sydney Waterlow, Lord Shaftesbury, the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs, inspected the buildings, and declared them open. Among the company were Dr. Brewer, M.P., Mr. Hepworth Dixon, Mr. Under-Sheriff Crossley, and many ladies as well as gentlemen interested in the welfare of the industrial classes.



## THE WAR.

## THE CONDITION OF PARIS.

An Englishman who left Paris on the 8th, and arrived at Brussels on the 17th, addresses a letter to the *Independence Belge* on the state of Paris. He says that life there is still more than endurable. Each inhabitant receives fifty grammes of meat a day; beef at one franc twenty cents and horseflesh at one franc a pound. Beef and mutton will last till the end of the month; there will still remain 45,000 horses and immense quantities of salt meat stored at the New Opera, so that there will be enough meat for at least three months. Bread is secured till the end of April, and wine and spirits for two years. The writer was member of a dining club of eight. The dinner was usually composed of soup, meat, vegetables, cheese, wine, coffee, and his bill for the last week had amounted to only fourteen francs fifty cents. In the municipal kitchens a litre of soup with vegetables can be had for thirty-five cents. The poor receive food gratis. Each National Guard receives one franc fifty cents daily. Those who do not stand in need of pay hand it back to the Government. They have been completely equipped to the number of 400,000. The guardians of public security named by the Government have disappeared, and police duty is now done by the National Guard. The greatest privation is the want of news from outside Paris.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Daily News* says that a balloon which was captured by the Germans contained a letter from M. Jules Favre to M. Gambetta, announcing that the stock of fresh meat in Paris would last until Tuesday, the 15th inst., and that there would then be a fortnight's supply of salt meat which had been kept in reserve. The meat supply would, therefore, be altogether exhausted on or about the 22nd of December. By that date it is stated that all the batteries round Paris will be completed, and everything be ready for the bombardment.

The *Gaulois* reports from the Halles Centrales that the aspect of the markets has undergone a complete change since the commencement of the siege. A number of new trades has sprung up, many of which have rendered great service to the necessitous classes. Thus, every morning, instead of the traditional *café au lait*, we have vendors of soup, haricots, cabbages, &c., traversing the streets, and supplying for ten centimes a comforting ration to numerous customers. The butchers' market is thronged from an early hour with eager purchasers. The sale of horseflesh has lately become very large. The *filet* sells for four or five francs a pound. Asses' flesh, which is highly esteemed, has risen to 3½ francs per pound, and some dealers even ask four francs. Cats are also sold at from five to six francs each. An official intimation states that butter is no longer to be had, and that lard and grease are much adulterated with cocoanut and other oils usually employed in the manufacture of pomade.

The *Journal Officiel* of Paris, under date Nov. 12, thus replies to the demands made by the independent Press:—"Several journals reproach the Government with imitating the example of their predecessors, and of concealing from the public the intelligence which it receives, because it regards it as disagreeable. The answer of the Government is unfortunately but too easy. Like all Paris, it suffers the cruel consequences of an investment, which, notwithstanding repeated efforts, it has yet been able to break through. It regularly sends off its despatches. During the first few weeks of the siege it did receive some replies, which it immediately published. Since that of the 24th of Oct., received on the 26th, nothing has reached it, notwithstanding its reiterated demands, and it is unable to explain this lamentable fact. The Government wishes that it were in a position to give more circumstantial information, but its ignorance cannot justly be imputed to it as a crime, since it is an unavoidable result of the siege."

M. Edmond About, who now writes in the *Siccle*, counsels peace as strongly as he before counselled war. He declares that Paris can resist no longer, that two millions of people must not perish of hunger to save two provinces to France, and that M. Jules Favre should be superseded by a Minister who would at once sign a peace. M. About suggests that a Constituent Assembly should be at once elected, which should be bound to sign a peace within twenty-four hours of its meeting. M. Louis Blanc takes a widely different view of affairs. He would summon the King of Prussia to submit the dispute to the arbitration of two Republics and two Monarchies—and meanwhile he who would prosecute the struggle though Paris must fight single-handed and alone. To him Paris is the head and heart of France, and had better perish than lose its dignity. He would have no Constituent Assembly called, lest the provinces should sacrifice the capital. M. Ernest Renan takes a position between MM. About and Blanc. He suggests the immediate election of an Assembly to discuss the situation of the country, and decide on the course to be taken. He thinks a truce of eight days quite sufficient for this purpose, and suggests that even if no truce can be had a single delegate might be elected by universal suffrage in each department where such election was possible, and voluntary representatives might go from the rest of France. These proposals are being generally discussed by the press, and there appear to be signs that Paris will not prolong resistance after its hopelessness has been proved. A fortnight ago the *Journal des Débats* had the courage to say, "We are vanquished," and to counsel imme-

diately peace. The opinion begins to prevail in the city, as it does outside of it, that Paris has not only saved its honour, but has done enough for France. "Thank Heaven," said the *Débats*, "we can exist for a time on our antecedents, they are sufficiently famous."

A telegram from Tours, dated Monday, says:—"The balloon Ubrich has just arrived from Paris. She brings intelligence of the state of feeling there which is in flat contradiction with that put forth by M. Edmond About. The victory at Coulmiers has given fresh courage to the inhabitants. Every one is determined to prolong the war à outrance, and not the slightest apprehension is felt as to the supply of food."

The latest news from the German head-quarters at Versailles represents Paris as apparently showing a disposition to yield, and, though the preparations for a bombardment are now complete, it is thought that that measure will not even be necessary.

A letter from Versailles says:—"There is every sort of probability that the French will make a tremendous effort to break out of Paris. It is known that 100 regiments *de marche* have been formed, and that standards have just been distributed to each battalion of these 100,000 men."

## EARL RUSSELL ON THE WAR.

Lord Russell's pamphlet examines in two divisions the military and political conditions of the empire. It criticises the Gladstone article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which it condemns as expressing a policy inadequate to the times. In the present war it fastens the guilt of the carnage upon France, welcomes the prospect of the unity of Germany, and pronounces that Alsace and part of Lorraine ought to be regarded as the just and natural provisions for security. If Count Bismarck should demand more, it proposes a joint and armed intervention. It concludes with a series of axioms. We must have an army of reserve founded on the militia, a strong garrison, and a good general in Quebec, and a peace enforced upon the basis of the surrender of Alsace and North Lorraine. It is now announced that the pamphlet has been withdrawn from publication, for the present at least.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

It is stated that M. Godard is constructing a silk balloon to contain 6,000 cubic metres, and to carry twenty persons; the cost of a passage will be 2,000 francs each.

A letter from Versailles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks of the home-sickness of the German soldiers, who would gladly celebrate New Year's Day with their families.

Herr Wickede, in the *Cologne Gazette*, remarks that however the Emperor, justly, or too often unjustly, may be abused now in France, three-fourths of all the officers, from Captains upwards, are in their hearts Imperialists, and would like the Prince Imperial to ascend the throne.

A private letter from Paris states that some physicians and chemists, among whom is M. Maurat, Professor of Chemistry at the Lycée, St. Louis, have invented a new system of telegraphy. M. Maurat is about to leave Paris shortly by balloon, and expects afterwards, when in the provinces, to be able to place himself in permanent communication with his colleagues in the capital without experiencing any interruption from the Prussians.

There has lately been current among the lower classes of France a prediction that, from the 11th of November, the fortunes of the nation would take a new turn, and the Germans be driven out of France, this prophecy being connected with the aurora borealis. The success at Orleans has strengthened the faith in this prophecy.

According to the *Liberté* of the 17th instant, the Emperor Napoleon has expressed in a letter his entire approval of the action taken by the Government of the National Defence respecting the armistice, and has recommended the continuance of the war to any extremity rather than cede French territory.

A Versailles letter refers to a secret visit of the Bishop of Orleans, who is said to have had an interview with the King of Prussia. His object, it is believed, was to interest the King in a compromise between the Legitimists and the Orleanists, by which the Count de Chambord would ascend the French throne, and being childless, would be succeeded by the Count de Paris. The Count, however, has an antipathy to the bishop, and would not be likely to respond to any advances from such a quarter.

A letter has been received from Lady Pigot, who is now at Metz for the purpose of attending to the wounded, in which she states that there are no other English ladies at Metz. She adds that she has to "rough it," but is well and happy. The Prussians she describes as "loud and consequential," the French as "pale and haggard." The Prussians seem to her ladyship, however, to be weary of the war.

A letter from Southern France says there is a great activity at the foundries of La Seyne, near Toulon, and the first batch of mitrailleurs has been completed and delivered, but the work is still going on. These instruments of destruction are upon a new model, very light and portable, having a range of 1,200 metres, and costing only about 500 francs each.

A pamphlet by Marshal Bazaine, justifying his conduct at Metz from the 14th of August until the capitulation, will be published at Brussels in a few days.

In Strasbourg University the Protestant theological professors are about to commence their lectures as usual, but the other professors are either unable or unwilling to lecture in German, and will conse-

quently be silent. The tribunal for civil and military causes resumed its sittings on the 17th, and the court of appeal at Colmar has also resumed its functions. French law at present remains in force.

It is stated that within two months there have been shipped by the United States for France nearly 400,000 guns and carbines, 45,000,000 cartridges, besides 11,000 separate boxes, five mitrailleuses, and fifty-five cannon.

Since General Aurelles de Paladine took command of the Army of the Loire, he has tried by court-martial, and shot, about a hundred and fifty men, all for offences which, under the old, easy-going régime, would have been regarded as very venial.

The *Rappel* publishes the following letter from M. Rochefort, dated Nov. 9:—"I had intended to retire without breaking silence, but I have received so many letters, I have been pressed with so many questions whether I had really given in my resignation to the members of the National Defence, that I feel obliged, once for all, to say 'Yes.' On the 1st of November I gave in my resignation, and I have never had any intention of withdrawing it."

A judicial commission is to be instituted in Tours for investigation into Marshal Bazaine's conduct.

## EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

CHANGARNIER ON BAZAINE.—A correspondent of the *Telegraph* sends from Brussels an account of an interview with Changarnier. "The venerable general said, speaking of Metz: Bazaine did not sell himself, he had no need of money, and his work was far from an act of treason. *Mon Dieu!* it was no treachery: it was necessity. What is your opinion, said I, of Bazaine's military capacity? Ah! there it is, he answered. Bazaine was incompetent to command so large an army. The numbers bewildered him. He could not move his men. He could not operate his forces; he had no judgment, no foresight (*clairvoyant*). Also, Marshal Bazaine was a selfish man for himself, for his personal glory, not for his country's honour. Bazaine thought all the time that peace would soon be proclaimed, that Paris would never hold out, that the war would fall flat, and that his military reputation would not be impaired. He never made a serious effort to escape from Metz. Every sortie was only a pretended sortie. It was for appearances, nothing else. There were four high officers in Metz beside Bazaine, who were all for inaction. I saw all the military manoeuvres. They were all shams. Bazaine and his friends were not acting as soldiers; they were seeking their own future."

PRUSSIAN DARING.—Some time back Lieutenant Hoffman, 12th Company Royal Grenadier Regiment, being at the Crown Prince's, happened to speak of what went on at the outposts, what houses were in front, and of the people they saw, whereupon His Royal Highness, in a laughing way, observed, "I wish you would bring me a late Paris newspaper out of one of them." The young officer said nothing, but when next he was on duty he went out in advance of the sentries, and in the dusk he managed to enter a house within a few hundred yards of Valerien, which was occupied by an Englishman. The apparition of a Prussian officer, revolver in hand, was startling, and the demand for the last Paris paper equally astonishing in its way. "Needs must," &c. The paper was produced, and carried off with an addition, for the master of the house entreated the officer to receive some wine, in order that he might say to the French that the foray had been made for the sake of the drinkables. I tell the tale, says a correspondent, as it was told to me. It is an illustration of coolness, tact, and daring, and of a desire to serve his Prince, on the part of the Prussian officer, which will, no doubt, be appreciated duly.—*Letter from Versailles.*

THE EMPEROR AND HIS MARSHALS.—There is reported to have been a marked distinction (says a correspondent) in the manner in which the different marshals arriving from Metz were received at Wilhelmshöhe. When Lebœuf took the outstretched hand of the Emperor, the generals standing near are said to have immediately withdrawn, their dissatisfaction plainly visible upon their faces. To Bazaine Napoleon, as the rumour goes, held out both his hands; after which cordial greeting the marshal was surrounded by all the Imperial retinue, who conversed cheerfully and eagerly with him. In the same way, Canrobert, it is said, whenever he visits Wilhelmshöhe, is embraced by the Emperor, and received with smiles by everybody; *le pauvre Lebœuf* is left out in the cold.

THE SHADY SIDE OF THE GERMAN CAUSE.—The uprising of France at the moment when her last shaft was spent, when sword and lance were broken, her banner in the dust, her armour pierced, has undoubtedly surprised the German princes and statesmen, and caused disappointment. Numerous as are the German hosts, the strain on their powers is far greater than it was before, when two vast armies were to be beaten. Although the troops are very healthy considering the winter work, the reductions caused by sickness are perceptible. Much of France has been overrun, and where the German foot has once trodden the impress is visible, even in Orleans; but the part of France untouched by hostile hands is larger still, and the chivalrous Bretons and the fiery children of the Rhône provinces seem resolute in their determination to resist to the end. France, at least, "will die with harness on her back." Well, to an unmilitary people it should be some comfort to see that trained soldiers may be beaten; that all the glorious circumstance of Imperial standing armies may vanish, and that a people—hopeless as the contest may be—can still resist, and, in some sense, stay the march of the conqueror over their country.—*Letter from Versailles.*

POTATO DIGGING OUTSIDE PARIS.—Yesterday



forenoon there was some firing from Rosny and Noisy; but the event of the day was a procession which, emerging from the east side of Paris, came in the direction of the Saxon outposts. Not fewer than 30,000 people, under the protection of a large body of troops, approached to nearly the bounds of the French lines and set to work to dig up potatoes. Some of the German officers estimate the number as nearer to 40,000 than the figures I have just stated; and what is particularly remarkable about the proceeding is that most of the diggers were well and some of them even fashionably dressed. Many groups of ladies joined in the digging. The German troops did not fire on those unfortunate people, but all of them, men, women, and children, had come out at the risk of their lives in this search for potatoes. It may occur to the reader that the middle of November is a rather late period for potatoes to be yet under ground; but it must be remembered that the farmers and peasants fled without having gathered in their crops. In this neighbourhood the German troops dig up potatoes every day. The conclusion arrived at from the extraordinary occurrence of yesterday is that provisions in Paris must be almost run out, and that before many days the city must capitulate. I am bound, however, to say that, on the other hand, there are indications of determination to hold out. Only yesterday troops marched out from under Rosny, and were drilled at rifle practice. We could distinctly see them firing at a target.—*Letter from Saxon Army, Nov. 16.*

**A COMPOSITE ARMY.**—A correspondent writing from Tours says:—"Gambetta is just the man that the commander of an army who had his heart in the work would like to have behind him. Tours at the present day is very unlike what I remember of Strasbourg when MacMahon's Corps d'Armée was assembling there. The officers of the Army of the Loire appear to be with their men; they seem to work, and not to spend all their time in loafing about the cafés of the town. The French tireurs—at least a great number of them—seem to take life more easily, and appear to pass their time walking about the Boulevards with their hands in their pockets. Those who take pleasure in the study of military costumes would find ample employment for their time at Tours just now. As I sit writing near a window that looks out upon the Boulevard de Houteloup, at least a dozen differently dressed free-shooters pass every five minutes. Some of them look very workmanlike, but others seem to have copied their uniform from the Italian brigands and the Spanish smugglers of the Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin. There are American, Canadian, Italian, Spanish, and even Greek companies, or small battalions, of these men; nay, this morning I was accosted by an unmistakable Yorkshireman, who asked me, in a tongue that must have come from the neighbourhood of Doncaster, if I knew 'where the French Government waur.' I replied that it would take a longer time than I could afford to point out where that abstract power resided. It turned out that the poor fellow—who, by the way, told me he had once belonged to the 'Buffs,' had served with that corps in India, and had been induced to join the French Foreign Legion by some person or persons in London, on whose heads he poured the reverse of blessings as he told me his tale—wanted to find out where he should go to get the pay owing him. In memory of the red-coat I once wore I gave him a five-franc piece, and directed him to the Intendance Militaire. He told me he had been wounded at Dijon—he called it 'Derjohn'—and had been left to shift for himself ever since. He said that in the corps he belonged to there were a score of Englishmen, all of whom regretted they had ever been induced to come to this country, and wished themselves back in their own land."

**ANECDOTE OF KING WILLIAM.**—A Brunswick paper gives an anecdote illustrating the King of Prussia's kindheartedness. A soldier from Stargard, in Mecklenburg, is on outpost before Paris. Here he received a letter from home, and, as he had been a long time without news, he could not refrain from opening it immediately. In reading it he became so absorbed that he had no eye or ear for what passed around him. Suddenly he heard a noise, looked up, and perceived the King and Crown Prince with their retinue. Startled, he let the letter fall, and gave the customary salute. The King remarking his anxiety and confusion, stepped up to him in a friendly way and asked, "Well, a letter from your sweetheart?" "No, your Majesty, from my father," he replied. "May I read the letter, or are there secrets in it?" asked the King. The soldier handed the letter to the King, who turned to his suite and read, *inter alia*, as follows:—"In a fortnight your sister's wedding comes off; we shall all greatly miss you on that day, but your old mother is most of all vexed at not seeing you here. It does not matter, however, only go to the French in earnest, so that the insatiable mouth of those fellows may be very soon stopped." The King returned the letter and rode on. No long time elapsed before the soldier was relieved from his post. He received fourteen days' furlough, and was able, at the King's expense, to make a journey to Mecklenburg and attend the wedding.

**GERMAN FEELING AGAINST ENGLAND.**—A correspondent of the *Telegraph*, writing from Berlin on November 15, says:—"Not a single newspaper in the Prussian capital—not even the most Liberal and anti-Governmental—has one word to say in favour of a people whose good intentions cannot be doubted

by the unprejudiced, and whose active benevolence has been proved by the subscription of more than a quarter of a million of pounds sterling. The fact is, the Prussians are at this moment violently prejudiced against England. They ascribe her intervention to the most selfish and basest motives. They attribute our propositions to jealousy, and maintain that we are possessed by an overmastering dread of German ascendancy. Whether the newspapers make public opinion here, or merely reflect it, is a question not easily answered. The Berliners pretend to ignore or despise most of their own papers; but it seems to me that those writers whom they affect to slight easily lead them by the nose. It is by no means in the journals alone that one meets with this growing animosity. An Englishman here is personally free from insult. The people are too educated and too self-respecting to visit, after the manner of their ignorant and vain-glorious enemies, the sins of a nation upon any one of its sons. But the feeling leaks out on every occasion. Your friends here will remind you with a smile or a sneer of the commercial advantage England gains by this war—although the sale of a few thousand weapons, manufactured in one small district, is no compensation for the injury inflicted upon the whole community by the closing of England's principal market. In cafés and places of public resort the exasperation boils over, and from every table one hears indignant complaints of England's double-dealing. In the low-class theatres, again, an actor finds the most vulgar abuse of England the safest "gag" in which he can indulge. To say "Engländer—lie Lumpen," is always enough to bring down the house. All this is, no doubt, very unreasonable, but it is also very sad, and it may ultimately lead us into complications with the nation which, above and beyond all others, should be our 'natural ally.' The moderate Liberals here deplore—in conversation, at least—the ill-feeling, as much as you in England can; but they do not underrate its importance, as you perhaps may be inclined to do. It has always been their principle to keep up a hearty alliance with England, and in their opinion a close union between the two great Protestant Powers of Europe is likely to be more than ever essential for mutual safety in the time to come. France, they say, will never rest until she has sought to avenge the disasters of this campaign. Single-handed, she cannot hope to cope with Germany for many, many years. Her only chance will be to gain Russia over to her designs; and, in the event of a coalition between France and the great Northern Empire, England's interest in the East would be so imperilled, that she would have to take arms with Prussia. It is, therefore, for the manifest advantage of both Powers to maintain their friendly relations in the closest possible union. There is no new cause for the strong dissatisfaction expressed against England. The perpetual complaint is that we supply France with arms to be used against Germany. It is idle to explain that our laws cannot be changed to suit a particular emergency; that our Government is powerless in such a matter; that we are ready to treat Germany on just the same footing with France; and that, even did we depart from precedent and suddenly promulgate an order forbidding the export of munitions of war, it would be impossible, with our extended seaboard and colossal traffic, to prevent the trade. It is equally useless to point to the United States, whence, in spite of the great German population—New York is the third greatest German city in the world—shipfuls of weapons are borne to the ports of France. Why should the Prussians be so irate against England for doing on a small scale what the Americans—now their firmest friends—are doing in a wholesale way? To this question even the most Liberal have a ready reply. Prussia, they say, has addressed the same remonstrance to both Powers. The President of the United States has forbidden the export of arms, but has explained that it is impossible to carry out the letter of the law. England, on the contrary, has declared that she cannot interfere with trade. The commercial classes, at least, know that no amount of supervision could prevent the smuggling out of arms; but they would be satisfied with the merely moral support of an Order in Council forbidding an act which, they maintain, is inconsistent with honest, straightforward neutrality. They are hurt at not receiving from their long-tried friend, England, the same consideration which they have found at the hands of America. I merely repeat the arguments I hear on every side, even from those who are best disposed towards England."

## Foreign and Colonial.

### GERMANY.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* telegraphs that in the elections which have taken place the Liberals have lost, and that the Conservatives and Ultramontanes have gained a few seats. There are 200 Liberals, 150 Conservatives, fifty Ultramontanes, and twenty Poles. Dr. Jacoby, of Königsberg, many years a member for Berlin in the Prussian Parliament, has not been re-elected this time, though the advanced Liberals ruled the metropolitan elections as formerly. They have abandoned him because he had expressed himself against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The Prussian Government has gained a great electoral victory in the province of Hanover. Of thirty-six members returned by it, only three are "Particularists," the majority are National-Liberal, and the rest Conservative.

Baden and Hesse have signed treaties of adhesion

to the North German Confederacy. Bavaria is likely to follow, Prussia having abandoned her claim of having the direction of the Bavarian troops in peace as well as in war.

The Munich Town Council has passed a resolution that they will grant no money to celebrate the entry of the Bavarian troops on their return from France unless Bavaria has previously joined the North German Confederacy, and ceded to Prussia the direction of her military and foreign affairs. The vote, which was all but unanimous, is intended to influence the decisions of the Bavarian Cabinet.

The following telegram from Berlin, dated Nov. 21st, appears in the *Daily News*:—"It is stated here that the results of the negotiations at Versailles are as follows:—Baden and Hesse will enter the North German Confederation unconditionally; Wurtemberg will enter subject to reservations which are of merely secondary importance respecting taxation, the postal and telegraph services, &c.; Bavaria retains her military sovereignty and an independent military organisation. The necessary Conventions will be laid before the North German Parliament for ratification during the approaching session. The King of Bavaria is about to visit Versailles."

The *Independence Belge* of this evening contains the following despatch from Berlin:—"The modifications to be made in the existing Constitution of the North German Confederation are as follows:—The jurisdiction of Federal legislation over the press and the right of association is to be extended. Future modifications of the Constitution will henceforth be attainable only if approved in the Federal Council by three-quarters of the votes. A declaration of war will require the approval of the Federal Council, excepting in cases of aggression against the Federal territory. The Grand Duchy of Baden will be represented in the Parliament by four members and by three votes in the Federal Council. Hesse-Darmstadt will send six more Deputies to the Parliament to represent her territory on the left bank of the Main, and will have three votes in the Federal Council. The taxes on liquors will be reserved as regards the Southern States. The new Constitution will enter into force on the 1st of January."

### ITALY.

The entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome has been further delayed. The ceremony, I am credibly assured, will not take place until the Italian Parliament shall have given a formal sanction to the result of the Plebiscite in Rome.

The *Independence Belge* says that it is expected that the Prussian Government will take certain steps in favour of the Pope.

### SPAIN.

The Duke of Aosta has been proclaimed King of Spain. Of the 345 members of the Cortes entitled to vote, 311 exercised the right. Of these, 191 voted for the Duke, and two others signified adhesion to his cause. The most formidable competitor of His Majesty was the Federal Republic, for which sixty votes were given. The Duke de Montpensier polled only twenty-seven votes. According to the latest advices from Madrid, the public peace had not been disturbed in Spain.

The Cortes have appointed a commission of twenty-five members to proceed to Italy to present the Crown to the Duke of Aosta. The Duke's election has been everywhere received with great enthusiasm.

### CHINA.

A Shanghai telegram of Oct. 27 states:—"Sixteen coolies have been beheaded, the Chinese Government indemnifying their families. Twenty-three others have been exiled. An indemnity of 500,000 taels is to be paid to the French, and 10,000 taels to the Chinese Christians. M. Rochechouart expresses himself satisfied, but the Russians are not so. M. Rochechouart has quitted Peking, but Mr. Wade remains. Chungchow has started for Europe."

In a telegram dated Peking, November 3, Mr. Wade says he does not expect military force will be necessary anywhere.

A Canton paper gives an account of the destruction of a Protestant chapel at Fatsan by a mob on the 21st of September. The chapel was built entirely by the native Christians at Canton and Fatsan, and on its completion "it was determined to have an opening ceremony on a grand scale, and several Protestant missionaries and native converts were invited to attend. Fortunately, only one foreigner, the Rev. J. Chalmers, was able to be present, and to his early return to Canton he probably owes his life. He left Fatsan immediately the ceremony of opening the chapel had been performed, and refused to remain for some festivities appointed to be held in the evening. At about six p.m. the mob, which had often expressed its intention of destroying the building when finished, collected about the doors, and openly declared that improprieties were being committed within the chapel. The native assistant denied the charges as eloquently as circumstances would admit, and endeavoured to cool the growing excitement; with the usual success, however, for in an hour the building had been burst into, sacked and burned. The converts made good their escape, and no loss of life occurred, though several ugly wounds were received. The property was entirely Chinese, and no foreigner was injured, so that is a matter in which the consuls will have difficulty in taking action." Fatsan, the Canton paper adds, is "noted for its opposition to the encroachments of missionaries, and the representative of the Wesleyan Mission at that place has for some time past found it expedient to dwell there more in spirit than in the



flesh." The fire brigade, it is also stated, was turned out in force, and "took energetic measures to preserve the neighbouring houses from damage, while not a finger was lifted to save the chapel from destruction."

# FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

M. Alex. Dumas, whose death has been erroneously reported in several journals, is convalescent at Dieppe.

The Government of India is said to have sanctioned an advance of 1,000*l.* in aid of the expedition undertaken by Dr. Livingstone.

Intelligence has been received of the commencement of laying the telegraph cable between Batavia and Singapore, which is the commencement of an entire telegraphic communication between this country, China, Australia, and the principal islands in the North Pacific Ocean, including the Philippine.

The news by the Cape Mail is, that the find of diamonds continues as plentiful as ever. The population in the diggers' camps had risen to 11,000. A magnificent diamond, weighing 88 1-16 carats, the largest yet found there, has been discovered by a Mr. Wheeler, who was offered for it on the spot 22,000*l.*, but he wanted 30,000*l.*, and comes to England in the hope of getting that sum. British magistrates and mounted police were about to be appointed for the diggings by the Colonial Government.

THE POPE.—Writing on the 12th, the Roman correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—"The demonstration of Sunday against the Jesuits, and the threatening cries raised constantly by the mob, though directed as much against the Italian as the ecclesiastical authorities, have had the effect of reorganising the party favourable to the Pope's departure from Rome, and a great effort has been made to accomplish their object. Several cardinals told the Holy Father that they could not vote in a conclave at Rome under the existing Government, and that such a conclave must result in the election of a Liberal Pope, which would produce a schism in the Church. The pressure was so great that for two days His Holiness wavered, and at once made up his mind to go. But the resolution was opposed by wiser counsellors, and yesterday he said to some members of his household, 'I wish to remain, and I will remain. Patrizi and Antonelli are convinced it is the best course, and I shall follow their advice.' Nevertheless, the Roman mob may yet frighten him away. Encouraged by the success of Sunday, and instigated by the party of action, they talk of holding a demonstration in the Piazza of St. Peter's to clamour for the disarmament of the Pope's Guards and the dismissal of his hundred gendarmes."

A NARROW ESCAPE.—Five thousand persons (including two thousand children) had assembled in the large hall of the Sunday-school of Stockport, to listen to a sermon preached by Dr. McLeod. A neighbouring chimney filled the hall with smoke, and an alarm was raised that the building was on fire. The people became excited, but their fears were dispelled before a panic set in.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.—The following is a list of the candidates who have passed the recent second M.B. examination:—

FIRST DIVISION.—Edgar George Barnes, St. George's Hospital; John Mitchell Bruce, M.A. Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen; William Frederick Richardson Burgess, Guy's Hospital; Charles Henry Carter, B.A., University College; John Curnow, King's College; John de Liefde, Guy's Hospital; James Pearson Irvine, B.A., B.Sc., University College; Chas. Henry Joubert, St. Mary's Hospital; Frederick Pollard, St. Thomas's Hospital; Richard Lawton Roberts, University College; Edward Cox Seaton, St. Thomas's Hospital; Arthur William Smith, Guy's Hospital; Richard Thos. Smith, University College.

SECOND DIVISION.—Charles Taylor Aveling, St. Thomas's Hospital; Ashley William Barrett, London Hospital; Alfred Cotterill, King's College; Alfred Thomas Gibbins, King's College; James Alfred Harris, Edinburgh University and Royal College of Surgeons; Walter George Lowe, St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Rushton Parker, University College; Willm. Price, University College; Alfred Shewen, University College; Charles Tanfield Vachell, King's College; William Beach Whitmore, King's College.

PAUPERISM AND DISEASE IN LONDON.—Though, as might be expected with the approach of winter, the metropolitan relief lists are fuller week after week, it is at least satisfactory to observe that, compared with the first week of November, 1869, there was a decrease of 4,500 paupers in the corresponding week of this year, the numbers now being 34,857 indoor, 98,874 outdoor; 133,731 total. The total last year was 138,236. This year's return, however, is 8,000 more than in 1867. At the meeting of the Metropolitan Asylum District Board on Saturday, a report was presented showing that smallpox is rapidly upon the increase in the metropolis. The Smallpox Hospital is quite full, and there are now more than 200 cases under treatment either at the homes of patients or in the London workhouses. Dr. Lankester has pointed out at several inquests, and also in a circular of instructions to be had at the Piccadilly Vestry Hall, that the most serious consequences arise from parents supposing that scarlatina and scarlet fever are different diseases. "It cannot," he observes, "be too extensively known that they are one and the same disease, and that the mildest cases are capable of communicating the most destructive forms of the malady."

# Literature.

JOHN WESLEY.

We have had several biographies of John Wesley, the worst of which have proceeded from Methodist pens, and the best from the Tory High-Church layman Robert Southey. Southey's narrative has, however, been generally unacceptable to the followers of Wesley himself. They have said that the author did not understand Wesley, and that he misrepresented or distorted many of the facts of the great Reformer's life. Southey's work, however, is one that will hold its position in English literature, and will always be considered, whatever may be said against it, one of the choicest biographical histories in our language. For ourselves, having, we believe, read nearly all, if not all, that has ever been written about Wesley, as well as that portentous work denominated "Wesley's Journal," we have never been able fully to appreciate the nature of the objections that have been urged against Southey's admirable narrative. It is candid, it is truthful, it is comprehensive, it is philosophical. Of course, Southey could not write from the standpoint of a Methodist, but, for that reason, he was probably the better able to weigh the value of the facts with which he had to deal. If he falls short in philosophical analysis, Isaac Taylor, in the same line, errs, as he always did err, to excess. Where he is deficient in breadth of fact, as regards the whole Methodist movement, Dr. Stevens, the able American historian, has supplied the deficiency. One, however, of the two works now published supplies what was still wanting—an almost exhaustive biography from the pen of a Methodist, competent, as respects literary skill, to deal with his materials, so honest as to deal with them faithfully, and so diligent and zealous as to leave nothing untold that zeal and diligence could discover. This is the least praise which we can give to the Rev. Luke Tyerman's "Life and Times of John Wesley," the first volume of which has been published, with the announcement that two more volumes are speedily to follow.

The chief value of Mr. Tyerman's work consists in the fact that it is almost exhaustive. Yet it is not quite so. Gathering up, with keen eye and loving industry, every little scrap of intelligence concerning the subject of his biography that has found its way into print, and having access to some manuscripts which have never before been published, he has thrown, every now and then, a little brighter light upon some of the incidents of Wesley's career. Yet he has skimmed over some notable points, never once mentioning Wesley's superstitious Bibliomancy, and giving but one single incidental glance at his peculiar attachment to the drawing of lots. The superstitious side of Wesley's character, without a fair recognition of which it is impossible to understand the man, is almost ignored. This is not done from any dishonest intention, but simply because, if we must say it, Mr. Tyerman, while he is a good and even skilful narrator of facts, has little or no understanding of character. We daresay that he did not think it necessary to mention such matters, but, without them, John Wesley would not have been the man, in many respects, that he was. Mr. Tyerman is incomparable in telling us what he said and did, but he seems to us to be incapable of getting beneath external action. He cannot resolve Wesley's character into its elements. Needless it is to say that it is difficult to do this with general accuracy, and impossible to do it with full accuracy, in respect to any man, but easier to do it in respect to John Wesley than to almost any other man that ever lived. However, taking Mr. Tyerman's first instalment of his voluminous work as we find it, we have to express our thanks for it. If he does not—and he does not—throw any very new and strong light upon the history of Wesley, he has gathered up nearly all that the world will ever be able to know about this most eminent and remarkable man. It seems to us, after reading the volume, that Wesley remains unchanged in all his previous features, such as we had believed them to be. But, then, it is satisfactory to find that he does remain unchanged.

Two influential circumstances having to do with the earlier period of Wesley's history are illustrated by Mr. Tyerman in a more satisfactory manner than they have been by any previous biographer. One relates to the character of Susanna Wesley, his mother. Miss Wedgwood, in her unsatisfactory sketch, entitled, "John Wesley

\* 1. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists.* By the Rev. L. TYERMAN, etc. Vol. 1. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

2. *John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century.* By JULIA WEDGWOOD. (Macmillans.)

"and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century," remarks on the likeness between the characters of Wesley and his mother. She notices in them—with a woman's keen vision for resemblances rather than differences of character, which Bacon held to be an inferior exercise of the observing power—that both were wanting "in tenderness and in a sense of humour." The last remark is very true, but, with the letters which Mr. Tyerman has now printed, it can no longer be said that Susanna Wesley was deficient in tenderness. Most of these letters run upon pecuniary difficulties, both of the family and of Wesley himself, for when he was at Oxford, John ran considerably into debt. This is the first of these communications:—

"Wroote, Aug. 19, 1734.

"Dear Jack,—I am uneasy because I have not heard from you. I think you don't do well to stand upon points, and to write only letter for letter. Let me hear from you often, and inform me of the state of your health, and whether you have any reasonable hopes of being out of debt. I am most concerned for the good, generous man that lent you ten pounds, and am ashamed to beg a month or two longer, since he has been so kind as to grant us so much time already. We were amused with your uncle's coming from India; but I suppose these fancies are laid aside. I wish there had been anything in it, for then, perhaps, it would have been in my power to have provided for you. But, if all things fail, I hope God will not forsake us. We have still His good providence to depend on, which has a thousand expedients to relieve us beyond our view.

"Dear Jack, be not discouraged; do your duty, keep close to your studies, and hope for better days. Perhaps, notwithstanding all, we shall pick up a few crumbs for you before the end of the year.

"Dear Jacky, I beseech Almighty God to bless thee."

"SUSANNAH WESLEY."

This letter is followed by several others, not to "Dear Jack," but in tenderer style, to "Dear Jacky." One of them says, "I have now three or four letters before me unanswered. I take it very kindly that you write so often. I am afraid of being chargeable [expensive], or I should miss few posts, it being exceedingly pleasant to me, in this solitude, to read your letters, which, however, would be pleasing anywhere." And while the father's are "Dear Son," the mother's are "Dear Jacky" to the end. Weak Mrs. Wesley was not, but tender she seems always to have been. Has not Miss Wedgwood confounded gushing demonstrativeness with something a great deal better which Susannah Wesley certainly possessed?

Wesley's money difficulties when at college are brought out in great relief by his new biographer, who, as we have intimated, intentionally conceals nothing relating either to the character or the work of the subject of his biography. They are constantly referred to both in the father's and the mother's letters. Old Samuel Wesley was fearfully involved, and, as men in such circumstances always are, was, as Mr. Tyerman remarks, "offended at his son's want of thrift." It was evidently a difficult matter to lend 5*l.* to keep "Jacky" going, and when the time came for him to be ordained, it was almost impossible to raise money to pay the fees. This is shown by the following note:—

"Bawtry, Sept. 1, 1735.

"Dear Son,—I came hither to-day because I cannot rest till I make you easier. I could not possibly manufacture any money for you here sooner than next Saturday. On Monday I design to wait on Dr. Morley, and will try to prevail with your brother to return you 5*l.* with interest. I will assist you in the charges for ordination, though I am myself just now struggling for life. This 5*l.* you may depend on the next week, or the week after.

"Your affectionate father,  
"SAMUEL WESLEY."

There are characters with whom an early experience of this nature seems to be necessary to teach what is right. The most opprobrious charge which any man would now make against Wesley was that he was careless or unthrift in money matters. Excepting during this brief educating period, he was the model of severe thrift and high principle.

Mr. Tyerman sketches the after Oxford life of Wesley, of which the particulars are so well known, with clearness and sufficiency. We should say that sufficient justice is not done to those who were co-workers with the real founder of Methodism, but that we must keep in remembrance the fact that the author has written the lives of the other members of the family, and that he is not professing to write, as Dr. Stevens has done, the History of Methodism. All through his pages, therefore, as in a long panorama, the figure of John Wesley stands, large and prominent, in the foreground. If it occasionally appear to be exaggerated in size, it is not the less truthful from the point of view which a biographer is compelled to take. Such a writer stands always at the side, or closely follows, the man whose life he is endeavouring to describe. No other man can occupy, to him, the same relative position.

Externally accurate also, on the whole, are the author's pictures of society, at one or two



periods covered by this history, but they are only externally accurate. He cannot see below the surface. He recognises the fact of gross immorality and indifferent religion, but he does not attempt to account for them. He recounts, in a varied and skilfully compiled narration, the opposition of the bishops and the clergy to the new movement, but he never attempts an explanation of it. It does not occur to him to ask whether this was a singular or a characteristic action, and therefore he misses all its real meaning. In respect to the theology of the period, we think him in some respects wrong. Wesley's theology did not differ so very much from what had been preached in many Dissenting pulpits. It was not, as Mr. Tyerman thinks, a difference of doctrine that produced the marvellous results which accompanied the Methodist revival—it was a difference of the men who preached the doctrine. One set preached the Christ of dogma with icy hearts and icy manners; the other with fire that had been drawn from the altar of the Almighty. That, in few words, is the philosophy of the Methodist movement, as it is the main philosophy of the success of the Christian religion.

We are indebted, however, to Mr. Tyerman for many more materials of fact than we have referred to. One of the most interesting episodes in Wesley's life was his correspondence with Mary Granville, afterwards the Mrs. Delany who is so well known through Madame D'Arbly's Diary, and by her more recently published Life. It appears to have been highly probable that there was a certain attachment between these two remarkable characters, which, we should judge, first cooled on Wesley's side. He was at that time drawing towards the work of his life, and nothing afterwards ever detached him from it. It is pleasant, however, to find him so human in this connection as we seem to find him here. He was grandly human in the loftiest attitudes of humanity, such as are indicated in that pregnant and still little understood declaration that God made man in "His own image," but in those human weaknesses, which sometimes strangely attach us to our kind in spirit, he was sadly deficient. He, with his tremendous mission, had no time for them. But he must have been loveable, or Mary Delany could not have taken to him, nor would the grandly loving and passionate George Whitefield have given to him, with all the fullness of his warm affection, his whole heart.

Wesley once more became susceptible of a personal attachment. This was in the strange Georgian history, of which Mr. Tyerman's account is candid and even judicial. This was an attachment of passion, founded upon no principle, and well ended where it did, although it cast a temporary slur on his reputation. The mission to Georgia was, in a certain sense, Wesley's salvation. In its discharge, he discovered one of the key doctrines of his theology, and one which he afterwards preached with marvellous effect. Here, too, his High-Church ritualism broke down by bringing him to shame. His mental history, in regard to this subject, can never be exactly known, but it can be imagined. What is certain is that we hear very little of his tendencies in this direction after his Georgian failure. Mr. Tyerman, who does not hesitate, when he thinks it to be necessary, to speak with great plainness of any defect in Wesley's character that may be very evident from his life, says upon this subject:—

"Wesley, according to his own explanation, had long been in a saved state (though he knew it not); but he was far from being perfect, either in spirit or behaviour. No man could be more sincere or earnest; but it is hoped that few ministers of equal learning, wisdom, and sanctity, make greater blunders than were made by him at Savannah. There can be but little doubt that he had ecclesiastical authority, for most, if not all, his priestly practices, and so have half the Papistical priests and Ritualists of the present day. But as England now is right in resisting the introduction of rites and ceremonies, fasts and feasts, confessions and penances, absolutions and interdicts, savouring more of the Man of Sin than the Word of God,—so Savannah then was right in resisting similar innovations attempted to be introduced by the extremely High Church priest, fresh from the society of Oxford Methodists. If we are right in denouncing ritualism now, Savannah was right in denouncing ritualism then. If the thing is offensive and obnoxious here, it was equally offensive and obnoxious there, and if no other end had been answered by Wesley's mission to America than knocking out of him his High Church nonsense, the good effected would have been an ample compensation."

After this period Wesley's theology gradually crystallised, but he was unjust both during and after the process of crystallisation. He preached the Salvation "free in all and free for all," but instead of remembering how he had been helped to this with all its correlative doctrines, he was angry with those who had helped him towards it. But for William Law he would, as far as can be seen, never have been awakened out of spiritual indifference and apathy, yet, after he grew out of Law's defective theology, he assailed his old teacher in the bitterest and

rudest language. But for the Moravians he would never, apparently, have attained to the knowledge of one of his characteristic doctrines, yet he quarrelled with the Moravians and almost reviled them. When he had attained to assurance of his own faith and to a logical consistency in it, he never afterwards swerved a hair's breadth, but, tracing as we can trace it, his own mental and spiritual history, he might have been just a little more charitable to those who helped him up the high ladder which he, but not they, had managed fully to climb. Self-sufficiency, in this and other respects, was not quite wanting in Wesley's character, but it was as a very small blot on a great white and finely polished shield. Let us quote in this connection, a second illustration of Mr. Tyerman's exemplary faithfulness. It relates to Wesley's later dealings with William Law. Wesley wrote to Law to reproach him with his unfaithfulness. Mr. Tyerman quotes the letter, which must raise a blush on the face of every man who reads it, and then says:—

"This was an uncalculated, rough, morose attack upon a man of the greatest ability, of distinguished though mistaken piety, whose works Wesley had read with the highest admiration, whose advice Wesley had sought, and who was nearly old enough to be Wesley's father. Law replied to it in a letter dated May 19, 1738. After some withering sarcasm, in reference to Wesley having written his letter in obedience to the call of God, Law proceeds to say:—'Let me advise you not to be too hasty in believing that because you have changed your language, you have changed your faith.' A lengthened correspondence followed, which Mr. Law concluded thus:—'Who made me your teacher? or can make me answerable for any defects in your knowledge? You sought my acquaintance, you came to me as you pleased, and on what occasion you pleased, and to say to me what you pleased. If it was my business to put this question to you, and if you have a right to charge me with guilt for the neglect of it, may you not much more reasonably accuse them who have authoritatively charged over you? Pray, sir, be at peace with me.' This was a miserable squabble, into which Wesley foolishly rushed, and out of which he came not victorious, but vanquished."

Ah well! who has not done worse than this?

The life which Wesley led from the commencement of his work with Whitefield and Charles Wesley down to the year 1747, when he was forty-four years of age, is traced in minute detail in the subsequent pages of this volume. The opposition which he and his assistants encountered from the clergy is nowhere so minutely traced excepting in Wesley's own "Journal," which very few persons have read, or, out of the denomination, are likely to read. All the time Wesley grew both in character and in purpose. He grew out of his priestism, and grew out of a great deal of the littleness, arbitrariness, and misunderstanding of nature and religion shown in the minute rules of early Methodism. His intensity increased upon him. The more he worked the more he was absorbed in his work, until all things, compared with it, became as nothing in his sight. In labour, in preaching, in self-devotion, no man probably has appeared on the world's stage since the days of Paul who equalled him, and to no man's work has there been given a higher sanction.

We agree with Mr. Tyerman in the spirit of one pregnant remark which we noticed when we read his volume. If this country is to pass through another spiritual revolution such as it experienced in the days of John Wesley, it must be by similar means. We do not say, as Mr. Tyerman says, by the same doctrines, meaning the same truths in the same form, but through a similar spiritual fire and energy. We are reminded, by this volume, how the dead of a past age were once brought to life; the dead of this age can only be brought to life by similar means. John Wesley was the Hammer of God to the past century, breaking hearts and striking fire whenever his spirit struck upon another spirit. There were flaws in the metal, but what were they to its purity, and what to its use?

### Music.

The first of a series of choral and orchestral concerts, in which the highest available talent will be brought into requisition, took place, under Mr. Henry Leslie's direction, last Wednesday evening, at St. James's Hall. The first part of the performance consisted of Rossini's posthumous but already famous "Messe Solennelle," with Mesdames Titiens and Trebelli, and Signori Bettini and Foli, as the principal singers. With such a cast, in conjunction with Mr. Leslie's own choir, the execution was, as might have been expected, as nearly irreproachable as it could well be. The mass in question, however, taken as a whole, essentially differs in style from the same composer's other great sacred work, the "Stabat Mater," whose florid character has been variously approved or condemned, according to the particular theories of musical propriety

entertained by different critics. Owing in part, probably, to the fact of this difference, and in part to a very general preference for familiar to less known music, however excellent, the enthusiasm of the large audience was perhaps hardly worthy of the occasion, except in the case of the "O, Salutaris" and the "Crucifixus," exquisitely sung by Mesdames Trebelli and Titiens respectively, and unanimously *encored*. Other movements were (admitting the propriety of *encores* at all) certainly worthy of a similar honour, if only to mention the air "Domine Deus," sung by Signor Bettini (faintly recalling "Cujus animam"), and the lovely "Agnus" by Madame Trebelli and chorus, which brought the work to a close. Special praise is due to Mr. Leslie's famous choir for the delicacy and precision with which they gave their share of the music, varying in style and effect from the *pianissimo* with which the "Kyrie" opens, to the stately fugue "Cum Sancto Spiritu," which concludes the "Gloria." There was no band, the accompaniments being given simply on harp, harmonium, and pianoforte, as written by Rossini. All three instruments were well played, but the last-mentioned might certainly have been replaced by a better specimen of its class.

The second part of the concert was a miscellaneous selection, the most noticeable features in which were Mendelssohn's "Hear my Prayer," by Mdlle. Titiens and choir, and three popular part-songs by the latter.

The "Messiah" is announced for next Wednesday, the 30th inst., with the above-named artistes, with the exception of Signor Bettini, who is to be replaced by Mr. Sims Reeves. There is, of course, to be a first-rate band.

### Miscellaneous.

THE NEWPORT ELECTION.—The nomination of candidates for Newport took place yesterday, when Mr. Cavendish Clifford, Liberal, and Mr. Martyn Kennard, Conservative, were proposed. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Clifford. The poll takes place to-day.

THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS has published a rough draft of its coming campaign. The Board proposes to fuse an odd dozen or so of gas companies into one, to deal in a peremptory fashion with metropolitan sewage, to cut, drain, level, and ornament, Hampstead Heath, and—to abolish for ever the ugliness of Leicester-square. The election of Chairman of the Board took place on Friday, and resulted in favour of Colonel Hogg. Lord Robert Montagu was nominated, but found no seconder. The appointment is for twelve months only, and the salary is 1,500*l*.

THE RIGHT TO ARCHITECTS' PLANS.—A question of importance to the profession of architects was argued on Wednesday in the Court of Exchequer. An architect was employed by a clergyman to prepare plans for a church and a vicarage; but before the work was completed a dispute arose, and the parsonage-house was not proceeded with. The clergyman refused to pay the architect's bill unless the plans and specifications of the vicarage were given up. This was refused on the ground that it would be contrary to the rules of the profession, and proceedings were taken to recover the full amount claimed. The judges unanimously held that the clergyman was justified in declining to pay until the plans for the unfinished building were delivered up to him, Mr. Baron Pigot remarking that the contract contended for was not only ridiculous, but impossible of fulfilment.

THE ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE.—The thirteenth half-yearly court and election of the above institution was held on Thursday at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon-street, Mr. R. Jones, Sheriff of London, in the chair. Mr. Joseph Soul, secretary, read a short report, setting forth the present position of the institution. The orphanages were erected on the freehold land of the charity at Hornsey, and at present consist of eight cottages, erected to accommodate 200 children, but only four of them are now occupied by 102 children, for want of the necessary funds. The educational state of the children has been reported upon by the inspector, the Rev. Mr. Fleming, as extremely satisfactory. On the present occasion ten additional inmates would be selected from a list of thirty-two candidates. For the past year the sum received from donations and subscriptions had been 3,812*l*., and 5,393*l*. had been expended, while liabilities still existed to the builder and other tradesmen to about 10,000*l*. The chairman said he trusted so deserving a charity would receive extended support from the public, to enable the committee to meet its liabilities and fill the cottages with inmates. The routine business having been transacted, the elections were then proceeded with, and the names of the successful candidates will be advertised in the daily journals.

An astronomer of some note in Spain predicts that the coming winter will be the coldest since that of 1829, and that the thermometer will, during several successive days, sink twenty degrees below freezing point.



## Gleanings.

Five women preachers are now firmly settled in pulpits in Universalist churches in the United States.

According to the *Glasgow Herald*, a photographer in that city has received orders from a London house for 60,000 photographs of the Marquis of Lorn.

Upwards of 170 tons of sprats were caught on the South Devon coast during the past week, and the bulk of the supply was forwarded to London.

A snipe was seen a few days ago in a garden in Brompton, within 500 yards of the Gloucester-road Station.

Madame Viardot will sing in the "Messiah," for the first time in London, at the Christmas performances of Handel's "Sacred Oratorio," at Exeter Hall.

A large black spot on the sun, visible to the naked eye for about three hours, was seen by the Rev. H. J. J. Molyneux, of Gidding Oundle, and others, on the 17th instant.

The following charade for the times is by the Bishop of Jamaica:—

In this sad state of earthly things,  
Perplexed by change, by war accurst,  
Chiefs, princes, emperors, and kings  
May suddenly become my first.

Like him who erst half Europe swayed,  
Within my second's gloom interred,  
Mourned o'er the rack ambition made,  
And in deep penance kept my third.

Oh! for some master spirit here,  
The time's dread madness to control,  
And earn through many a halcyon year,  
The epithet that speaks my whole.

**THE SALMON FISHERIES.**—At the annual meeting of the conservators of the Yorkshire salmon fisheries, held at York on Thursday last, it was stated that the past fishing season had been a very prosperous one, and that more salmon had been captured during the season just closed than in any former year since the passing of the Act of 1861. The increase in the amount of fish taken is all the more satisfactory when we hear that pollutions and obstructions to the ascent of fish are very prevalent in many of the Yorkshire rivers.

**THE ORGAN NUISANCE.**—"An Englishman" has written to the *Times*, recording the troubles he endures from the organ-grinders. He has thrown down the glove, as signal of "war to the bitter end," and it has been picked up by an injured grinder, who has sent the following polite note to the gentleman in question:—

"The gentelmin

by fulham road.

"You bad man. You want starve poor organ plays. One will pay you for it. Dark night me watch, no fight, me get one knife. Look out, me warn you."

**A NEW MEDICINE.**—A story is related of a venerable doctor of the experimental school of medicine. It was one of his rules never to have anything wasted; and, therefore, when any prescription remained after a patient had died or recovered, he would empty it into a bottle kept for the purpose; that became the receptacle of a heterogeneous compound that science could not analyse. A younger member of the faculty noted this as a very singular fact, and asked of him the reason of it. The doctor hesitated a little, and then replied that, though in ordinary cases he knew well what to do, there were instances when all his medical skill failed. At such times it was his custom to resort to the big bottle, and leave nature and accident to accomplish the cure. "And, will you believe it?" said he, "some of my most brilliant successes have resulted from it!"

**HINTS TO ORGANISTS.**—P. Benson, sen., gives the following "Rules for Playin Onto a Organ into Meetin":—"When the preacher cums in and neels down in the poolpit pull out all the stoppers. That's wot the stoppers is for. When a him is gave out to be sung, play over the whoal toon before singin, but be sure to play it so that they can't tell whether its that toon or some other toon. It will amoose the people to gees. When you play the interloods sumtimes pull all the stoppers out, and sumtimes pull them all in. The stoppers is made to pull out and in. Play the interloods about twice as long as the toon. The interloods is the best part of the mewsis and should be the longest. Play from the interloods into the toon without letting them kno when the toon begins. This will teach them to mind thare bisnes. Always play the interloods faster or slower than the toon. This will keep it from bein the same time as the toon. If the preacher give out 5 verces play 4. To menny verces is teejus. Doorin the sermon go out of the church and cum back in time for the next toon. This will show you doant mean to be hard on the preacher by havin too menny listenin to him at wunst."—*American paper.*

**HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.**—Health for the Many.—The universality, harmless composition and cheapness of these inestimable pills, have won for them their present fame. They cannot injure the system, no mercurial, mineral, or other poisonous agent enters into their composition. Their components are the finest balsams, extracted with the greatest care, and mixed together with the nicest accuracy. Holloway's Pills are unrivalled for curing the headache, loss of appetite, indigestion, flatulency, constipation, and other disorders of the stomach and bowels. They stimulate or otherwise regulate the liver. They so thoroughly purify the blood, that in its circuit through the vessels and capillaries it diffuses fresh life and vigour throughout the whole frame, and gives tone to body and mind.

## Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

## MARRIAGE.

**WILLIS-COLMAN.**—Nov. 18, at Old Buckenham, Norfolk, by the Rev. T. Fulcher, vicar, uncle to the bride, John Willis, Esq., of Norwich, to Mary Esther, only daughter of the late James Colman, Esq., of Stoke Holy Cross.

## DEATHS.

**RIPPON.**—Nov. 10, at her residence, No. 146, New Kent-road, Mrs. Elizabeth Harris Rippon, aged seventy-four years. Friends will please accept this intimation.

**BELL.**—Nov. 13, at Garstang, suddenly, William Bell, Esq., M.D., aged eighty-one years.

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Nov. 18.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.	
Notes issued ....	£36,317,655
Government Debt ..	£11,015,100
Other Securities ..	3,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion ..	21,317,635
	£36,317,655

BANKING DEPARTMENT.	
Proprietors' Capital ..	£14,553,000
Reserve ..	8,109,835
Public Deposits ..	4,878,894
Other Deposits ..	13,891,930
Seven Day and other Bills ..	93,061
	£42,419,710
Government Securities ..	£12,915,862
Other Securities ..	16,045,648
Notes ..	13,861,470
Gold & Silver Coin ..	783,732
	£42,419,710

Nov. 17, 1870.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

**NOTICE.**—KINAHAN'S LL. WHISKY DEPOT.—Kinahan and Co. have removed to their new and spacious premises, No. 64, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford-street, leading from Margaret-street, Regent-street, and Market-street, Oxford-street. Kinahan's LL. Whisky.—This famous and most delicious old mellow spirit is the very cream of Irish Whiskies, in quality unrivalled, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Can be obtained all over the kingdom, in the well-known sealed and labelled bottles, or in bond for exportation at the London Docks. Wholesale Agents: Messrs. Bass, Guinness, and Younger, and Dealers in Foreign Wines and Spirits.

## Markets.

## CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Nov. 21.

We had only a moderate supply of English wheat fresh up for to-day's market. From abroad arrivals are liberal. The political news caused excitement in the trade, and a general rise of 3s. was made on Friday. This advance was hardly maintained to-day on the business done, and the tone of the trade was quiet. We quote prices of English 2s. to 3s., and of foreign wheat 2s. above the rate of Monday last. Flour was 2s. per sack, and 1s. per barrel higher. Peas and beans made 1s. per qr. advance. Malting barley was firm, other descriptions were 6d. to 1s. dearer. Indian corn realised 1s. advance. Oats were in small supply, and met demand at an improvement of 1s. to 1s. 6d. per quarter since this day week. Of cargoes at the ports of call few remain for sale. Wheat has advanced 2s. in value, Indian corn 1s., and Barley 1s. during the week.

## CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red ..	51	53	58
Ditto new ..	51	53	58
White ..	55	58	60
Foreign red ..	51	53	58
Foreign white ..	53	57	60
BARLEY—			
English malting ..	31	34	38
Oatmeal ..	36	42	48
Distilling ..	35	38	42
Foreign ..	34	38	42
MALT—			
Fale ..	—	—	—
Oatmeal ..	—	—	—
Brown ..	49	54	58
BEANS—			
Ticks ..	38	41	45
Harrow ..	41	45	48
Small ..	—	—	—
Egyptian ..	38	40	42
PEAS—			
Grey ..	36	38	42
Maple ..	41	42	48
White ..	36	40	42
Boilers ..	38	40	42
Foreign, boilers ..	38	39	42
RYE ..	36	38	42
OATS—			
English feed ..	22	23	28
potato ..	26	28	32
Scotch feed ..	—	—	—
potato ..	—	—	—
Irish black ..	20	21	22
white ..	21	22	23
Foreign feed ..	21	23	28
FLOUR—			
Town made ..	45	47	52
Country Marks ..	38	40	42
Norfolk & Suffolk ..	36	37	42

**BREAD, London, Saturday, Nov. 19.**—The prices in the Metropolitan are, for Wheat Bread, per 4lbs. loaf, 7½d. to 8d.; Household Bread, 6½d. to 7d.

**METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Nov. 21.**—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 13,457 head. In the corresponding week in 1869 we received 12,961; in 1868, 5,996; in 1867, 13,377; and in 1866, 9,315 head. The cattle trade, influenced by increasing supplies, and less favourable weather for killing, has been in a depressed state, and less money has been accepted. The show of English beasts has been limited, some fair conditioned stock have been on sale. For all qualities the demand has been steady, at 2d. per 8lbs. more money. The best Scots and crosses have realised 5s. 8d. to 5s. 10d. per 8lbs. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we received about 1,200 shorthorns, &c.; from other parts of England about 250 various breeds; from Scotland about 301 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland, about 120 oxen, &c. With sheep the market has been fairly supplied in middling condition. The transactions have been restricted, and the quotations have fallen 2d. per 8lbs. The best Downs and half-breeds have been sold at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. Calves have been in request, and the inquiry for pigs has ruled active.

## Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3	4	4	2
Second quality	4	4	4	8
Prime large oxen	5	2	5	8
Prime 80 lbs. &c.	5	8	5	10
Coarse inf. sheep	3	4	3	8
Second quality	3	10	4	6
Pr. coarse woolled	4	10	5	6
Suckling calves, 00s. to 00s., and quarter-old store pigs, 23s. to 26s. each.				
Prime Southdowns	5	10	6	0
Lambs	0	0	0	0
Lge. coarse calves	3	6	4	0
Prime small	5	0	5	10
Large hogs	4	4	5	2
Neaten. porkers	5	6	6	2

**METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Nov. 21.**—Our market has been moderately supplied with meat. The trade has been dull, at our quotations. The imports into London last week consisted of 60 packages from Harlingen, 25 Rotterdam, 66 Tonnin, 703 Hamburg, and 20 Antwerp.

## Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inferior beef	3	4	3	8
Middling ditto	4	0	4	4
Prime large do.	4	8	5	0
Do. small do.	5	0	5	4
Inf. mutton	3	8	4	0
Middling ditto	4	0	4	4
Prime ditto	5	0	5	4
Veal	4	8	5	4
Large pork	3	8	4	8
Small pork	4	8	5	4
Lamb	0	0	0	0

**PROVISIONS, Monday, Nov. 21.**—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 970 firkins butter and 3,734 hales bacon, and from foreign ports 22,397 packages butter, and 637 hales bacon. In the Irish butter market no change to notice, sales very limited. Foreign met a good sale. The finest qualities brought 2s. to 4s. advance. Best Dutch 130s. to 134s. The bacon market ruled slow, and prices further declined 4s. for Irish, and 2s. for Hamburg. Best Waterford 66s. on board.

**COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Saturday, Nov. 19.**—Very little variation is experienced here, but good articles are in better request. Hothouse grapes have somewhat advanced in price; Almeida and other Portuguese sorts are abundant, but not particularly good this season. Foreign Hamburg are nearly done. Some good parcels of Newtown pippins are now coming in, of better quality than former consignments. Amongst flowers we have Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Heaths, and dwarf evergreens.

**BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, Nov. 21.**—We have no material change to report in our market. Low and medium qualities are attracting more attention, but are still in great abundance. Choice hops fully maintain recent quotations. No alteration is reported in European markets; fine hops, both of Bohemia and Bavaria, are exceedingly firm, and command full values, while ordinary grades are easier. More attention has of late been paid to Belgians, occasioning a rise of 2s. to 3s. per cwt. Imports up to the present date amount to 3,673 hales. Latest advices from New York quote an advance of 2s. per lb. for choice hops; medium and low, however, are offered at all prices. Mid and East Kent, 2½, 10s., 4½, 4s. to 7½, 10s.; Wealds, 2½, 10s., 3½, 10s., 4½, 10s.; Sussex, 2½, 5s., 2½, 14s. to 3½, 10s.; Farnham and country, 3½, 15s., 4½, 15s., to 6½, 10s.; Olds, 1½, 15s., to 2½, 10s.

**POTATOES.**—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS. Monday, Nov. 21.—These markets have been fairly supplied with potatoes. The trade has been steady at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 4 casks from Bremen, 356 packages from Rotterdam, 68 packages from Amsterdam, and 75 bags from Antwerp. English Regents, 45s. to 80s. per ton; Shaw's, 90s. to 100s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 60s. to 70s. per ton; Rocks, 45s. to 55s. per ton.

**SEED, Monday, Nov. 21.**—There was a limited supply of red cloverseed, held at high rates. From common to prime there is a large range in prices. Foreign samples were held for quite as much money. In Trefoil not much passed, and no quotable change took place. New white mustards were offered on former terms, and was rather more inquired for. Winter tares were placed in small lots, at quite as much money. English canaryseed realised former rates, with a steady sale. In grass-seeds not any alteration to quote.

**WOOL, Monday, Nov. 21.**—The wool trade has been inanimate, the Russian note having had the effect of checking operations; nevertheless, no decline has taken place in the value of English wool. There has been a steady inquiry for down, noils, and broken. Long fleeces are not much inquired after.

**OIL, Monday, Nov. 21.**—Lined oil has been in moderate request. Rape has been firm. Olive oil has changed hands slowly. Coconut has advanced on the week, owing to the rise in the value of tallow. Other oils have been steady in value, but the demand for them has not been active.

**COAL, Monday, Nov. 21.**—Market heavy, at last day's rates. Hettons Wallend, 19s.; Hettons Lyons, 17s. 3d.; Hettons Braddys, 17s. 9d.; Harton, 17s. 3d.; Haswell, 19s.; Hartlepool original, 19s.; Hartlepool, 18s. 3d.; Hawthorn, 17s.; Heugh Hall, 18s. 3d.; Kelloe, 18s.; Kelloe South, 18s. 3d.; Holywell Main, 17s.; Tees, 18s. 9d.; Wylam East, 17s. Ships fresh arrived, 48. Ships left from last day, 1. Total, 49. Ships at sea, 15.

## Advertisements.

## THE DISESTABLISHMENT of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

At the DISTRICT CONFERENCE of the supporters of the SOCIETY for the LIBERATION of RELIGION from STATE-PATRONAGE and CONTROL, held at Hanley on the 14th November, at Bradford on the 15th November, and at Manchester on the 17th November, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I. "That this Conference rejoices at the fact that, by the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the object of the Liberation Society has been fully realised in one portion of the kingdom; and it is encouraged by that event, as well as by the recent abolition of the Establishments in Jamaica and the Bahamas, and of State-aid to religion in Victoria, to such persistent exertions as will secure the complete triumph of the principles which the Society was designed to advance."

II. "That, having regard to the facts already stated, to the present state of public opinion, and to the internal condition of the English Establishment, the Conference learns with great satisfaction that the Executive Committee of the Society have resolved on operations, the definite aim of which will be the application to England and Wales of the policy of disestablishment adopted by the Legislature in regard to Ireland, and that it is the intention of Mr. MIALL, M.P., to submit to the House of Commons next Session a motion having in view that object."

III. "That as it is desirable that the Legislative change which the Society seeks to accomplish should be effected, not only by constitutional means, but as the result of deep national conviction, this Conference deems it to be of the utmost importance that new and vigorous effort should be made, throughout the country, to instruct the public mind in the principles, and the facts, on which the demand for disestablishment is based, and expresses the hope that all the Society's local Committees, and other representatives, throughout the district will immediately prepare to co-operate in such efforts."

2, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet-street, London.

## UNITED PRAYER for the RESTORATION OF PEACE.

In consequence of communications from the Continent and elsewhere, earnestly calling for the sympathy and prayers of Christians in the present crisis, and under the dreadful sufferings occasioned by the war, the COUNCIL of the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, with respect and deference, as also with brotherly affection, invite their fellow-Christians to a MEETING for SPECIAL and UNITED PRAYER, to be held in FREEMASONS' HALL, on FRIDAY NEXT, the 25th INSTANT, at Eleven o'clock.

A SIMILAR MEETING will be held on the SAME DAY, in the LONDON TAVERN, Bishopsgate-street, at One o'clock, to last One Hour.

JAMES DAVIS, Secretary.  
H. SCHMETTAU, Foreign Secretary.

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JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

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ROBERT JONES, Esq., Sheriff of London and Middlesex, in the Chair.

At the close of the Ballot the following were declared to be successful:—

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1. Scarlett, Alice Maud .. 685 | 2. Bloom, Louisa ..... 611

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3. Richards, Henry Wm. .. 648 | 7. Stevens, Elizabeth .. 457

4. Leigh, Charles Edward 578 | 8. Mather, Selina Agnes 439

5. Eyles, Alfred Henry .. 490 | 9. Bennett, Louisa Mary 431

6. Childs, Alice Rebecca .. 458 | 10. Curtis, Elizabeth Maud 429

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Scrutineers terminated the proceedings.

JOSEPH SOUL, Hon. Secretary.

73, Cheapside.

URGENT APPEAL.—The Committee very earnestly appeal for Contributions in Aid of the BUILDING FUND especially, as well as for the general purposes of the Charity, which has no funded property, but depends wholly upon voluntary support. No salaries are paid but to the household. The Orphanage is open to Visitors.

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